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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

July-August 1959

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF "IT DOESN'T MATTER"

WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN
The Florida State University

On my way to Papeete, city of joy, I read a book of short stories about the native island peoples of the South Pacific. One of these stories had the title "Aita Pea Pea" (ah-ee-ta pé-a pé-a), which is not the name of a Polynesian maiden, but is an expression meaning "never mind," or "it does not matter." The story dealt with several instances of hard luck suffered by the islanders in fishing, in storms, in sickness, and in marketing copra. After each misfortune they say "aita pea pea." What if a storm delays reaching the mussel beds and the haul by the divers for mother-of-pearl is light—aita pea pea.

The story was informative to me, who, like many Americans these days, was a traveler in a far country among people with a very different culture from our own. For such travelers it is not easy to learn the values and attitudes toward life of a people; not as easy as to learn from statistics about population and foreign trade.

Further observation elsewhere led me to think that in aita pea pea there is wrapped up quite a philosophy of life which sets off the (once) mysterious East from the West.

In Bangkok I visited an American colleague who had lived there a year. I asked him what he had observed to be the outstanding attitude toward life of the Thai people. He said they were an "easygoing," hedonistic people, who cherished above other values smooth personal relations, and that seldom was heard the word "no." If an awkward situation arose, you would likely hear the expression "mai pen rai," meaning "never mind," "it does not matter." This phrase, he said, was also heard on many other occasions when something went wrong.

In Djakarta I asked my American host and hostess what expression in the Javanese language they heard most often. Both replied without

hesitation and in full agreement that it was "ora apa apa" and meant "never mind," "it doesn't matter."

I then recalled that several years earlier, when exploring the sal jungles of Orissa with an Indian geographer from the University of Calcutta, he said many times in English "it doesn't matter," when I thought it did matter very much. I then thought it was a personal peculiarity of that individual. It did not occur to me that it might be a cultural trait of Bengal, and that any other Bengalese would have often repeated the same expression. After visiting Papeete and Bangkok, I inquired of an Indian from Calcutta about the expression "it does not matter" in the Bengalese language and was told it was "tate ki hayeche" and was commonly used in conversation in Bengal.

In Luzon I was driven along the countryside by a Philippine judge and his daughter. I asked them if there was any phrase in a native Philippine language that was used a great deal, more so than in English. They did not know of any such expression. Then I asked if there was a saying for "it does not matter." It was "ba hala na," and they said, "It is heard all the time."

Back in the U.S.A. at a dinner party one evening a Fulbright scholar who had spent a year in Greece was telling us of his observations and experiences. He said he met a woman tourist in Athens who made her way around Greece knowing only one expression in the Greek language, which he said was "them bi ra zi" and meant "never mind, it doesn't matter." It served her well, except on one occasion, a glorious Easter morning, when a Greek said to her in Greek, thinking she understood the language, "Christ is risen," to which she replied in Greek in the one expression she knew, "them bi ra zi."

Probably all languages have an expression for "it doesn't matter." In Burma it is "cakesa me shibu"; in Syria, "ma' lish," etc. The significance lies in the frequency of its use. What is strange is that visitors to the Asian countries, not knowing the language but trying to learn a few phrases, would so often hear "it doesn't matter" that the term would stick in their memories. A visitor from Thailand to the United States, not knowing the English language, would not hear "never mind" enough to take note of it. The expression is heard some in Western Europe and in England, particularly in the lower income groups, but apparently not as much as in Asia. He would more likely note "okay."

One other observation is that the great frequency of the remark "it doesn't matter" applies largely to the lesser irritations such as a derogatory remark, the loss of a small piece of property, the failure of a trade

to take place, a minor injury. We should hardly expect to hear the remark "it doesn't matter" when a loved one dies or when a dwelling is destroyed by a tornado. Whenever the expression is used a great deal, it must apply largely to minor events, for the major catastrophes are too infrequent.

But in the United States and in Western Europe minor disturbances often loom rather large. For in the Western culture, competition is vigorous and the rewards of success are great. When the race is close and the slightest detail goes wrong, it becomes of major importance; and it does matter. Then, too, there are available so many ways of measuring our progress, with time pieces, scales, record keeping, statistics, progress charts, and schedule making, which do not exist in peasant cultures. With these we measure our efficiency and can detect the details that do matter. Thus the sector of our life in which we in the West can say "it doesn't matter" is reduced.

But, whatever may be the reasons why in Southeast Asia "it doesn't matter" is said so much and why in the U.S.A. it is said so little, it is the effect of the practice that is important.

If the blow of adversity is serious, to say "aita pea pea" helps one to roll with the punch, as the boxer sometimes does. Instead of "feeling sorry for himself," it means "better luck next time." In mishaps that are less serious, aita pea pea tends to operate as an insurance against worry. If a depression cuts the market for copra, "don't cry over spilt milk." Aita pea pea. They can return to the native custom of living off of fish and postpone buying a bicycle.

Aita pea pea would seem to be especially useful in maintaining cordial social relations, in that it discounts sensitiveness to slights, gossip, and supposed insults. For people who live in little communities quarreling and feuding are grievously disruptive. In such communities if the hazards of life are great and the death rate high, a village cannot afford to have much disruption, and fighting is particularly bad. Especially is it discouraged in children. Opposite traits of kindness, manners, and cooperation are highly praised and of great value to the community. Aita pea pea, by encouraging indifference or dulling sensitiveness to malicious remarks, discourages friction in personal relations.

Aita pea pea may appear to travelers as a quaint mannerism of a happy-go-lucky people, especially by ethnocentric visitors who see the customs of other peoples as inferior to their own. By doing so they miss much of the pleasure and profit of travel. Looking for the good in other cultures, we find it interesting to speculate about the values of this Eastern culture trait for the West.

As a summarization, aita pea pea appears to be a cushion for worry. If it lessens worry in the East, would it not lessen worry in the West? Worry is a curse of vast scope in our civilization, and any suggestion that gives even a slight hope of reducing worry should be considered. We do not have any statistics of the number of worriers we have. If the census taker or a pollster asked the question "Do you worry?" it is doubtful if anyone would answer "no." But such an answer would give no indication of how serious the worries were. We have statistics on the number of psychotics entering our hospitals for mental disorder. But, contrary to popular opinion, many psychotics probably do not worry, as is indicated by the following definition: A psychotic is one who believes that 2 plus 2 equals 5; a neurotic knows that 2 plus 2 equals 4 but worries about it. And the neurotics are probably more numerous than the psychotics. Of course, aita pea pea would not cure a neurosis, the causes of which lie deep. Perhaps, though, it would make the suffering of a neurotic less intolerable.

There are worries not so serious as those of a neurotic, and many of these could be avoided. If the airplane is late, if the picnic is rained out, if the guest for dinner does not arrive, if the letter gets lost in the mail, if one's pocket is picked, what is the use in worrying when nothing can be done about it? But much worrying is about imaginary happenings of the future. We certainly should look into the future, but the vague and the unknown have a way of eliciting excessive worry about possible future consequences, many of which never occur. Then, too, much worry is about self, when what we need is to get away from self, as all of the great religions advise us.

That there is a vast number of such worries less serious than those of neurotics is shown by the consumption of sedatives and stimulants. In the United States the people take every year 500 tons of tranquilizers and barbituric sleeping tablets and 7,000 tons of aspirin, though not all headaches are caused by worry. Nor do all whiskey drinkers drink to forget, though of 700,000,000 gallons of distilled liquors drunk annually a sizable portion is from the "cup that cheers." Perhaps the mental attitude back of aita pea pea would reduce our consumption of tranquilizers.

We may divide our worries into two kinds, those that are precipitated in our work and those that arise outside. For the worries about our work it is shocking to think what would happen if we adopted aita pea pea in our business, where efficiency is the watchword, scheduling the practice, and success the goal. Imagine a production manager in a munitions

plant which makes electric fuses saying to a worker who has failed to produce his quota of parts, "aita pea pea." Aita pea pea would wreck our industrial system, whose achievements are the envy of the world. We would rather have our worries and take our tranquilizers than to lose any of our efficiency.

Can we not exclude aita pea pea from our business but adopt it elsewhere? Outside the workshop we spend our time at home (which is a part-time place of work for wives), in places of recreation, or at social gatherings. There the pursuit of efficiency and success, though not wholly undesirable, may not be worth the price we pay in increasing strains in the home, anxieties about our children to the detriment of their personalities, tenseness at mealtime that does not help the digestion, tensions that mar the golf stroke, in taking the fun out of play, in increasing our sensitiveness to critical insinuations by others, and in making us feel a lack of ease at social gatherings. Just how efficient should a social gathering be? The test in Thailand is not efficiency but "sanug," that is, fun.

We wear evening clothes at a dinner party and sports clothing on the athletic field. Our language at church is different from our language at the bar of a cocktail lounge. The manners of the drawing room are not those of the seminar. So why should not the behavior in the factory differ from that in the family? Can we not taboo aita pea pea in our business but use it extensively outside? Perhaps we can exchange with the underdeveloped countries some of our technological know-how for some of their ancient wisdom on how to live. One of the expected advantages of our increasing travel is that travelers learn from every culture.

BILINGUALISM IN ISLAND LEGISLATURES OF THE PACIFIC AS AN INDEX OF ACCULTURATION—A HYPOTHESIS*

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Students of culture change recognize that language not alone serves as a medium for communicating cultural elements but itself furnishes an insight into the dynamics of culture transfer.¹ Language usage has been suggested as a possible index of acculturation.² It is here proposed that the bilingual abilities of persons staffing political institutions may be used as a measure of the direction and rate of assimilation and, possibly, of cultural fusion. More specifically, it is hypothesized that the quantified language skills of legislators may be employed as a rough index of the progressive cultural adjustment occurring in the conjunction of two autonomous cultural systems, when one exerts a dominant effect upon the direction of the adjustment.

The hypothesis rests upon two assumptions: (1) that bilingualism is of itself evidence of acculturation and (2) that as assimilation occurs, the ancestral language will be supplanted by that of the dominant culture. Moving toward bilingualism, as the population adopts the language of the dominant culture, the language abilities of the membership of a legislative body anticipate the culture change; once the citizenry has achieved bilingualism and command of the ancestral language begins disappearing, the legislature will retain a higher, although decreasing, proportion of dual-language-skilled persons than characterizes the adult population as a whole.

In the administration of a colonial people, the metropolitan government charged with the governance of the area must wrestle with the semantic and cultural difficulties of translating its concepts for understanding by the local population. Local residents possessed of bilingual

* The field research necessary for this paper was made possible by grants from the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program. It will be incorporated into an expanded work on the Legislative Process in the Pacific.

¹ The Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953, "Acculturation: An Explanatory Formulation," *American Anthropologist*, 56:973-1002, p. 995.

² See J. Samora and W. N. Deane, "Language Usage as a Possible Index of Acculturation," *Sociology and Social Research*, 40:307-11; George C. Barker, "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community," *Acta Americana*, 5:184-202.

skills gravitate to the fore in government service to fill this need. What tends to be lost sight of is that the native population faces the same problem, aiding bilingual persons to assume roles of political leadership. Should the setting be changed so that instead of a handful of administrators in a colonial area, the situation be posited as a minority enclave surrounded by a numerically dominant majority, the same forces work to encourage bilingualism of the minority members in governmental posts and leadership positions. Legislators, and legislative bodies, in particular, appear to be peculiarly sensitive to these pressures, and thus offer promise as an index of their constituents' acculturation.

During the period 1956-58, the language skills of legislators in four island areas of the Pacific—Guam, Hawaii, Marshalls, Samoa—were ascertained.³ All four (as to the Samoas, this applies to American Samoa; Western Samoa is administered by New Zealand as a Trust Territory) enjoy central representative bodies functioning under American tutelage, although the legislatures in the Marshalls and American Samoa are as yet wholly advisory and Guam's is recently removed from that status. In contrast, Hawaii instituted legislative government over a century ago, during the period of the Hawaiian Monarchy. In none is English-speaking ability legally mandatory to hold legislative office;⁴ legislative business in Hawaii and Guam is conducted wholly in English, almost completely in the ancestral language in the Marshalls, and predominantly in Samoan in American Samoa.

In terms of stage of acculturation, unquestionably the people of the Marshalls and the Samoas stand toward one extreme, Hawaii to the other, and Guam somewhere in between. The legislative bodies of the

³ *Methodological footnotes:* Data on 1956 Guamanian and 1957 Hawaiian legislatures from personal interview with all legislators, supplemented by informants for the latter; 1956 Marshall Legislature from personal interview supplemented by questionnaire and informants; 1958 Samoan Fono (American Samoa) from personal interview supplemented by informants; and 1958 Legislative Assembly of Western Samoa through official records supplemented by informants. The language classifications are based upon observed performance during interview, legislators' self-rating when furnished, and informants' evaluation; the division between "fluent" and "limited" is wholly subjective and not based upon any objective technique. All legislatures but that of Western Samoa were observed in session.

Legislators in Hawaii and Guam are chosen in secret election by the adult citizenry. In American Samoa the lower house is similarly selected, but the Senate is chosen through *Fa'a Samoa* ways by the *matai*. Although Western Samoa restricts the suffrage to *matais* for the 41 "Samoan" members, only 31 were chosen *Fa'a Samoa* while 10 were secretly elected by *matais*. The Marshallese House of Assembly for the most part was chosen through indirect selection by the atoll council, some members through indigenous modification of secret ballot and adult suffrage.

⁴ However, in Hawaii, only Hawaiian may be substituted.

four areas fall into a similar alignment when the bilingual skills of their members are tabulated. Of the 70 members of the Marshallese bicameral legislature, all conversed in Marshallese, while 37 could speak no English, 10 only limited English, and 23 fluent English. Similarly, all 32 members of American Samoa's bicameral body spoke Samoan, but their English skill could be classified into 12 no English, 10 limited, and 10 fluent. At the other extreme, in Hawaii, all 33 non-*haoles* (non-Caucasians, including Portuguese) of the Territory's 45-membered, bicameral legislature were fluent in English but evidenced restricted abilities in their "ancestral" languages: 11 fluent, 17 limited, and 5 no control of the "ancestral" tongue.⁵ Befitting their Island's stage of acculturation, all 21 legislators in Guam's unicameral legislature were fluent in both Chamorro and English.

The spread of the language of the dominant group must normally be reckoned in generations. As a result, it is to be expected that the younger members of the legislative bodies surveyed would generally possess more developed bilingual skills. This was demonstrated by the legislative bodies surveyed in those areas closest to the "ancestral" way of life. American Samoan legislators with a median age of 49, divided into median ages of 43 for the fluent English group, 50 for limited, and 55 for no English skill. The same phenomena characterized the "Samoan" legislators of Western Samoa: median age of 55 for all, but when grouped by language-speaking ability, fluent English 48½, limited English 55½, and for the no English group a median age of 60.⁶ The 42 members of the Marshallese House of Assembly evidenced the same general age distribution, but not so neatly: the median age of the whole House was 44 years, and the fluent English group's low age of 39 at one extreme contrasted with the median age of 48 for the Marshallese assemblymen with no command of English. Seemingly disconcertingly, the limited English group's median age did not fall between the other two Marshallese groups, but rather was higher—49; however, the median age of the combined fluent and limited English groups was but 41, emphasizing the fact that Marshallese assemblymen with English language ability of some sort, as a whole, were considerably younger than legislators unable to converse in English.

Correspondingly, in an area where assimilation is almost complete, it is only the elders who will be expected to possess bilingual ability, while the younger generations are limited to use of the dominant language.

⁵ Part-Hawaiians classified as of Hawaiian ancestry.

⁶ Only the 41 "Samoan" members are included; "European" members representing the "European" electorate are excluded.

In Hawaii, an area of "advanced" acculturation, language skill thus must be measured in movement away from the "ancestral" tongue. As anticipated, the younger legislators in Hawaii displayed less command of their "ancestral" language than their seniors in the legislative chambers. All non-*haole* legislators in the 1957 legislature had a median age of 44 years; those with fluent command of their "ancestral" tongue reported a significantly higher median age—50, while those who could speak only English or English and the second language with limited ability approximated the median (44 and 43 years, respectively). The only sizable subgroup in the Hawaiian legislature—legislators of Japanese ancestry, 22 in number—evidenced a comparable relationship: median age 40; fluent Japanese, 40; limited or no Japanese language skill, 37.

Inherent acceleration and lag factors need be taken into account for legislative language skills to be utilized as an index of acculturation. The 1956 Marshallese legislature serves as illustration of the former, and Hawaii of the latter; Guam probably represents an area just going over the "hump." Far more than half of the Marshallese adults cannot speak English in any form, so that the legislators' skill was anticipating that of their constituents; it is doubtful that 85 per cent of non-*haole*, adult citizens of Hawaii can still speak their "ancestral" tongues, so that here the Hawaiian legislature appears to evidence a lag. Every member of the 1956 Guamanian legislature when interviewed proved fluent in English; a visitor to Guam at that time easily could observe that no such language ability distinguished all adult Guamanians.

A legislator's selection tends to depend upon segmental support; dual language skill does not alienate that portion of the citizenry which identifies with him due to his speaking the ancestral tongue. For an area moving toward bilingualism, command of the dominant language, and all attributes associated with it, weigh heavily in a candidate's favor; once over the "bilingual hump," normally command of ancestral language would continue to be of political advantage, although of decreasing importance relative to the size of his constituency valuing its use. In short, the forces at work encourage bilingualism in legislatures and help to explain both initial acceleration and subsequent lag.

Re-election depends upon many factors, so that for any one legislature it is unwarranted to causally associate success of its re-elected members solely with dual language ability. Then, too, only a small number of legislators are encompassed within each language fluency group, so that the findings for any one of the legislatures surveyed may be attributed

to coincidence. Notwithstanding, as turnover statistics for the legislatures of the Pacific studied all demonstrate the same tendency, they lend credence to the influence of bilingualism as well as the effects of acceleration and lag.⁷ In areas of increasing bilingualism, re-elected members comprised larger shares of the total membership which spoke the dominant language; in Hawaii, as an area moving away from bilingualism in which the ancestral languages are disappearing, greater electoral success nevertheless seemed to be enjoyed by legislators commanding those languages.

Service in Previous Legislature. First, as to the language fluency of members with experience in the legislature next previous to that surveyed: In the 1956 Marshallese House of Assembly, 15 members (out of 42) had served in the 1954 session, the last previous sitting of that body; 14 members (out of 32) of the Fourth Legislature were re-elected to the Fifth Legislature of American Samoa. In the 1957 Hawaiian House of Representatives, 13 of the 21 non-*haole* members had served in the 1955 House. Classifying all legislators of the Marshallese and Samoan bodies into the three groups of fluent, limited, and no English, it was found that these re-elected members comprised greater percentages of the fluent (53 per cent, Marshallese; 54 per cent, American Samoa) than the limited English (33 per cent, Marshallese; 45 per cent, American Samoa), and proportionately double their share of the no English group (24 per cent, Marshallese; 25 per cent, American Samoa). In line with the lag hypothesis, in the Hawaiian House,⁸ 87 per cent of the fluent "ancestral" language group and 62 per cent of the limited "ancestral" tongue group had served in the previous session. Only 40 per cent of the no "ancestral" language group in the 1957 Hawaiian House had been members of the 1955 House, a percentage not even half as great as that which characterized the fluent "ancestral" language group.

Any Legislative Experience. The same encouragement of bilingualism is evidenced when all members with any previous legislative experience in each language skill group are identified. Here, instead of centering attention solely upon service in the next previous legislature, all legislative experience was taken into account. Surprisingly, over-all turnover thus disclosed ran less than 40 per cent. In the Marshallese House, 26 out of 42 members had had some previous experience in earlier sessions of the House; in American Samoa this figure for previous legislative

⁷ Guam is not here included, as all of its members are bilingual.

⁸ Hawaiian Senate not included, to eliminate difficulty of allocating hold-over members, all members being elected for four-year terms.

experience in either house was 23 members out of 32. In both houses of the Hawaiian legislature, 26 of the 33 non-*haoles* were found to have had former legislative service. Breaking total membership down into fluency groups, in American Samoa 85 per cent of the fluent, 73 per cent of the limited, and 50 per cent of the no English groups had in the past enjoyed some legislative service. Much the same held true for the Marshallese House: former legislators comprised 87 per cent of the fluent English group and 52 per cent of the no English group. The 50 per cent figure for the limited English group appears to strike a discordant note; but here again, if all Marshallese assemblymen with English-speaking ability of some sort are counted as one group, that is, combining the fluent and limited English groups, 76 per cent were former legislators, markedly contrasting with the 52 per cent of the no English group. In Hawaii, all of the legislators in the fluent "ancestral" tongue group and three fourths of those in the limited group had previous legislative experience, in distinction to the three fifths of the no "ancestral" language group serving their first term. Unquestionably, legislative veterans comprised greater proportions of the groups with dual language skills.

Number of Terms Served. Among those legislators serving in the 1956 Marshallese House, the 1958 Legislature of American Samoa, and the Hawaiian Legislature in 1957, members with greater bilingual ability tended to have been sent back to the legislative halls more frequently than their colleagues with less language fluency. The mean number of times members in each fluency group had been elected in American Samoa was 2.6 terms for fluent English; limited English, 2.5, and no English, 2.1 terms. Approximately the same characterizes the difference between the mean terms of members of the Marshallese House in the fluent English group (2.5 terms) as compared with the no English group (2.1 terms). The limited English group for the Marshalls again does not neatly fit in between these two extremes (2.0 terms); but, similarly, if Marshallese legislators with any English language skills are collectively considered, they display a mean of 2.4 terms, markedly contrasting with the mean of the no English group.

The 1957 Hawaiian Legislature dramatically displayed the relation between language skill and length of legislative experience. Legislators in the fluent "ancestral" group had been elected on the average of 3.3 legislative terms apiece, while the mean number of times the limited "ancestral" group had been sent to the legislative halls was but 2.8, and the members of the no "ancestral" language group showed only a mean

of 1.4 terms. Just as legislators skilled in the dominant language in an area moving toward bilingualism tend to remain legislators longer, so in areas moving away from bilingualism to the dominant language, do legislators speaking an ancestral tongue tend to remain longer in the legislative halls.

Quantifying legislative bilingualism as a device for measuring the direction and speed of acculturation being but a hypothesis, it needs testing elsewhere both to verify its conceptualization and to determine its utility. But first a word of warning. If legal fiat requires command of the dominant language as a condition for holding legislative office, the index may be employed only where the use of the ancestral language is decreasing in a bilingual situation. Representation appears to be a material element, and a degree of freedom of choice an essential part thereof. In the Marshallese House of Iroij, where heredity nominally determined membership, no significant difference distinguished the 12 members with English language skills (fluent, median age 51; limited, 51) from the 16 Iroij with none (median age 52). Nor may reliance be placed solely upon the technical method adopted for selection of legislators, as, for example, secret elections; of the 10 "Samoans" elected by secret ballot to the Western Samoan Legislative Assembly, more than a majority (6) spoke only Samoan, while this lack of English-speaking ability characterized less than a third (9 of 31) of the members chosen through *Fa'a Samoa* means.⁹ In short, the index as hypothesized appears to possess utility in only those cross-cultural areas of mobile ingress and egress to legislative membership where representation has political import.

⁹ However, the median age of the Western Samoa elected members with no ability to speak English was higher (60) than the elected bilingual members (limited, 58; fluent, 39).

ATTITUDES OF TEEN-AGERS TOWARD FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND HOMOGAMY OF SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR PARENTS*

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AND

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Many studies have shown a positive association between the child's rating of the happiness of his parents' marriage and his affection for them.¹ Studies of homogamy or assortive mating have indicated that couples with similar background characteristics tend to marry one another and that this similarity is associated with marital happiness or adjustment.² However, few studies dealing with the relationship between marital happiness and the affection of children for parents have included all three of these factors, i.e., marital happiness, affection of child for parents, and homogeneity in background characteristics of the married pair.

PROBLEM

In this paper the writers attempt to ascertain:

A. The extent to which male and female respondents report the background characteristics of their parents to be different and the extent to which they report the marital happiness of their parents, their attitudes toward home life, and their attitudes toward their fathers, mothers, and siblings to be different.

B. The association of the number of shared background characteristics of parents (1) with the teen-age child's rating of the marital happiness of his parents, (2) with the teen-age child's attitude toward home life, and (3) with how well the teen-age child gets along with his father, mother, and siblings.

*The authors wish to express their appreciation to the E. C. Brown Trust and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon for financial assistance in the data analysis phase of this study.

¹ For example, Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1953), Chap. 2.

² For example, Munford H. Kuhn, "How Mates Are Sorted," in *Family, Marriage and Parenthood*, Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, eds. (Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1955), Chap. 8.

C. The difference in the degree of marital happiness of parents from the attitude of respondents toward home life, toward fathers, and toward mothers.

D. The difference in the attitude of the respondents toward home life from their attitude toward fathers and toward mothers.

E. The difference in the attitude of respondents toward siblings from the degree of marital happiness of parents, respondents' attitude toward home life, respondents' attitude toward fathers, and respondents' attitude toward mothers.

F. The difference in the attitude of respondents toward fathers from their attitude toward mothers.

PROCEDURE

The data were obtained in Tampa, Florida, as part of a broader study on the division of labor within the family.³ The sample represents families with one or more children attending the eight high schools in Tampa during April 1953. The 1,584 respondents were enrolled in the tenth grade and represented 91 per cent of the community's enrolled tenth grade population. Only questionnaires answered by white respondents were utilized in the current analysis, thus reducing the total N to 1,400. The information used in this paper was taken from the 1,148 questionnaires containing complete answers to the questions on parental background characteristics.

The six background factors: i.e., age, region in which reared, rural-urban background, education, religious affiliation, and occupation were obtained from the questionnaires completed by our informants, tenth grade adolescents, as were the ratings of the happiness of their parents' marriage, the respondents' attitudes toward their home life, and their attitudes toward father, mother, and siblings.

RESULTS

The median age of the fathers was 44 years, of mothers 40 years, and of respondents 15 years. The fathers and mothers had been married a median of 19 years. The median education of the fathers and mothers was 9 years. More than two thirds of the fathers and mothers had been socialized in the southeastern section of the United States. These families

³ See Theodore B. Johannis, Jr., "The Adolescent's View of Father Roles in Relation to Socio-economic Class" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Florida State University, 1955).

were found to be in the prelaunching and launching stages of the family life cycle.

It should be noted that the number of shared background characteristics was somewhat skewed in the direction of high similarity. In 28 per cent of the cases parents were found to be alike on four characteristics. Twenty-six per cent of the spouses fell in the three characteristics alike and 22 per cent in the five alike category. Six per cent of the couples were found to be alike on all six background items and 4 per cent had zero or one characteristic alike.

Like many other studies, the respondents tended to rate their parents' marriages as happy and to state that they got along well with their parents. Eighty per cent of the respondents rated the marriage of their parents as happy or very happy, and 82 per cent stated that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their home life. The remainder of the responses fell in the less than happy or the less than satisfied category.

But 18 per cent of the respondents reported that they got along less than well with their fathers, and 11 per cent of the attitudes toward mothers fell in this same category. This compares with 39 per cent of those having brothers and sisters who stated that they got along less than well with their siblings.

Other findings are as follows:⁴

A. No significant differences were found between the responses of males and females to the questions on the background characteristics of their parents. About as many males as females reported that they were satisfied with their home life, that their parents were happily married, and that they got along well with their fathers, mothers, and siblings.

B. No significant differences were found between the number of shared background characteristics of parents and marital happiness, attitudes toward home life and toward fathers, mothers, and siblings.

C. No significant differences were found between the degree of marital happiness of parents and the attitude of respondents toward home life. A significant difference was found between the degree of marital happiness of parents and the attitude of respondents toward fathers and toward mothers. Respondents tended to rate the happiness of their parents' marriages lower than they did the level of getting along with their fathers and with their mothers.

D. A significant difference was found between the attitude of the

⁴ Complete data tables may be obtained from the authors.

respondents toward home life and their attitude toward their fathers and toward their mothers. The respondents tended to have a less positive attitude toward home life than toward their fathers and toward their mothers.

E. A significant difference was found between the attitude of respondents toward siblings and the marital happiness of parents, attitudes toward home life, and attitudes toward fathers and toward mothers. From inspection of the tables in which these data were placed and of the corrected coefficients of contingencies (\bar{C}) derived from them, it would appear that an inverse association might be involved, but these data were not tabulated in such a way as to meet all the conditions for assigning a plus or a minus to this coefficient, which ordinarily has no sign.⁵

F. A significant difference was found between the attitude of the respondents toward their fathers and toward their mothers. The respondents' attitude toward mothers was more positive than toward fathers.

DISCUSSION

A. Like the current study, Burgess and Wallin⁶ found no significant differences in the way that male and female respondents report the level of marital happiness of their parents. Vollmer⁷ obtained a similar result for his Negro sample but did find a significant difference between the responses of his white males and females on this item. Lang⁸ found that men rated marriage less happy than did women. Further research is needed in order to clarify these apparently contradictory findings.

B. The finding of no significant association between the number of shared background characteristics and the ratings of marital happiness of parents, ratings of satisfaction with home life, getting along with father, mother, and siblings brings into question those writers who stress "likeness" as the major criterion for mate selection and future marital bliss. This emphasis on homogamy is especially noticeable in high school

⁵ See Thomas C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941), pp. 203-08.

⁶ Paul Wallin and Howard M. Vollmer, "Marital Happiness of Parents and Their Children's Attitude to Them," *American Sociological Review*, 18: 427-29.

⁷ Howard M. Vollmer, *Variations in Parental Preference of Negro and White College Students* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Stanford University, 1951), pp. 34-37.

⁸ Richard O. Lang, *A Study of the Degree of Happiness or Unhappiness in Marriage* (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1932), p. 75.

texts on marriage and family.⁹ It is also found in some college texts.

C. The finding of no significant difference between the degree of marital happiness and the degree of the respondents' satisfaction with home life may indicate that the respondent perceives these as being synonymous. This would lend support to Slocum's finding that the Washington high school senior's perception of the degree of happiness of parents is highly correlated with his perception of the degree of happiness in the home as a generalized image.¹⁰

D. That a generalized attitude such as satisfaction of home life and attitude toward getting along with father and mother should differ significantly could have been expected more or less on the grounds that interpersonal relationships are of different order from satisfaction with home life. The latter is a generalized image, while getting along with father or mother may be more specific and concrete for the adolescent.

E. The finding of a significant difference between the attitude of the respondents toward siblings and the marital happiness of parents, satisfaction with home life, and getting along with father and mother is not too surprising in the light of evidence from studies of twins, delinquency, and sibling rivalry, which indicate that siblings experience different social environments and that family cliques may be furthered by sibling rivalry.¹¹ Thus, there is a possibility that sibling relationships are not too closely allied to father-mother relationships or generalized feelings of home satisfaction from the teen-age respondent's point of view.

F. The significant difference which was found between the attitudes of the respondents toward fathers and toward mothers agrees with the findings of a long list of studies which have analyzed the parental preferences of children. The studies of Simpson, Mott, and Gardiner found that children five to nine years of age preferred their mothers.¹² Duvall reported that in the twelve to seventeen age range, both males and females preferred their mothers.¹³ College students also show the same

⁹ For example, Paul H. Landis, *Your Marriage and Family Living*, rev. ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954), p. 181.

¹⁰ Walter L. Slocum, "Some Factors Associated with Happiness in Unbroken Homes," *The Coordinator*, 6: 35-39.

¹¹ Clifford Kirkpatrick, *The Family* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 230-32.

¹² Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹³ Evelyn M. Duvall, "Child-Parent Social Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 21: 458-63.

preference pattern according to Nimkoff,¹⁴ Terman,¹⁵ Winch,¹⁶ and Vollmer.¹⁷

¹⁴ Meyer F. Nimkoff, "Parent-Child Relationships," *University of Southern California Scholastic Research Studies*, 1935, No. 14.

¹⁵ Lewis M. Terman *et al.*, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938), p. 223.

¹⁶ Robert F. Winch, "The Relations Between Courtship Behavior and Attitudes Toward Parents Among College Men," *American Sociological Review*, 8: 164-74.

¹⁷ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

POPULATION DYNAMICS IN EL SALVADOR

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No part of the world appears to grow at a faster rate than Latin America. In particular, El Salvador is approaching a crisis stage in contrast to the relatively unpopulated countries of Central America. In fact, only Puerto Rico and Haiti in the Western Hemisphere are more densely populated. This demographic revolution which is occurring in large parts of the underdeveloped areas of the world can be ascribed to lowering of the mortality rate without an appreciable change in birth rate. The ratio of a birth rate of more than forty per thousand and a death rate of lower than twenty per thousand means an annual increase of 2 per cent, and much of Latin America is well above that ratio. In reality, El Salvador has been experiencing an increase of approximately 4 per cent in the last ten years. With a population of 2,350,201 in 1957 and an area of 8,259 square miles, a demographic crisis is hardly escapable. Already the vitaminless diet of corn, beans, and rice for possibly 85 per cent of the population is reflected in health and other problems.

The tremendous growth of population in Latin America during the last two decades has resulted from slightly better standards of health, medicine, and sanitation than were present earlier in the century. However, a large part of this increment may be explained by more accurate census methods, at least in the more urbanized areas. It appears that both births and deaths are ignored in the remote departments of El Salvador. For example, it is hardly plausible that the highly urbanized department of San Salvador should have a birth rate of 54.7 and rural Cabañas only 43.2.¹

Specifically, the purpose of this paper is to examine the demographic situation in El Salvador and to determine if any solution can be found to their problem of overpopulation. Our basic premise is that the demographic determinants of any society, and El Salvador is no exception, are the rates of natality, mortality, and migration. In this article these

¹ Individual communication from the Dirección General de Estadística y Censos (Ministerio de Economía). Generally speaking, unless otherwise noted, the figures cited in this paper are from the *Boletín Estadístico*, a quarterly of the above office.

factors will be examined along with the question of age structure and urban-rural distribution.

The Birth Rate. The birth rate for El Salvador was 48.9 per thousand in 1957 and has remained above 47 for all years since 1950. This rate is not markedly different from that of other countries: Mexico, 46.4; Venezuela, 46.7; Chile, 35.4, yet opposed to the United States, 24.9, and Argentina, 23.8.² Its fertility rate (children under five years per thousand women, aged 15 to 44) is high even for Latin America.

As in most of middle America, the majority of births are technically illegitimate. Less than half of the "marriages" are contracted legally, and of those which have been performed by civil authority a large number have not been accompanied by religious ceremony. The more familiar pattern is of a *union libre*, or common-law marriage. This arrangement may vary between comparatively tenuous relationships of a few months to the more frequent type of several years.

Urbanization has reduced the birth rate to some degree. Still more impressively, social class is correlated inversely with the birth rate. The emerging middle classes in towns and cities are generally restricting their families to five children or less, whereas the number is frequently twice as large in the lower classes, especially among the rural population.

Mortality. El Salvador, in line with most lesser developed areas of the world, exhibits a relatively high, although decreasing, death rate. Mortality statistics, it may be added, are particularly suspect as concerns validity, at least in the rural areas. In any case, the death rate for 1957 was 14 per thousand (male, 14.8; female, 13.2). It is well above the United States figure of 9.4 for the same year. Infant mortality rates have decreased from 129 per thousand in 1930 to 70.3 in 1956 (the United States rate for the same year being 26). For the other end of the life span, namely, those individuals above 65, death rates have risen from 9.7 to 16.6 per cent between 1930 and 1950. In the same period deaths for ages below 20 have decreased from 62.4 to 58.1 per cent.

The leading cause of death in El Salvador is gastroenteritis, in contrast to what it is in the more advanced areas of the world. Since 1950 there have been three to six thousand cases annually. A number of disorders vie for second place, for instance, malaria, measles, influenza, and infant infection. However, in 1956 homicide had the distinction of being the number two cause of death, with 954 cases listed. With the gradual rise of medical and sanitary standards, it is conceivable that

² *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1958), p. 927. The figures generally refer to 1956.

homicide will become relatively more important in mortality statistics unless there is a change in the mores or a more effective law enforcement than is observable at present.

Life expectancy as reported in 1950 was 49.9 for the male, 52.4 for the female as compared with 65.7 and 71.3, respectively, for the United States. Probably longevity will continue to improve; however, in El Salvador there are certain limits in that the food supply is restricted. Already the per capita consumption of a number of essential foodstuffs is less than half its desirable norm. For example, the monthly consumption of meat in a sample of workers' families is less than six pounds,³ not to speak of deficiencies in eggs, dairy products, and the like. The present diet of corn, rice, and beans—procurable at \$0.20 daily per person—for possibly 90 per cent of the population has little likelihood of alteration in view of population pressure on the land. Consequently, resistance to disease is distinctly limited.

Age Structure and Future Population Growth. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the youth of the population. A low average age assures the country of a high level of future growth and also means that the relatively few adults are responsible economically for the welfare of a large number of minors. The enormous burden placed on educational institutions in part explains why approximately half of the population (57.7 per cent in 1950) is illiterate. In the rural areas this educational crisis is particularly acute.

Predictions of future growth have been derived for the next few decades and are of three types: high, medium, and low assumptions.⁴ The projection for 1960 is 2.7 million; for 1970, 3.1; and for 1980, 3.8. The high and low assumptions vary by approximately 12 per cent on either side of the figures cited. Already it appears that the figure for 1960 is a trifle high. In any case, the predictions presuppose that by 1980 there will be some aging of the population and a decelerated rate of growth. Moreover, for the nation to support a population of nearly four million by 1980 would mean either drastic socioeconomic change or extensive out-migration. Of course, any prediction of population is accompanied by the usual problems of projecting demographic trends, which has not been without its hazards.

Rural-urban Distribution. One aspect of Salvadorean demography is its low rate of urbanization, which is in keeping with much of Central

³ Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, *Hechos y Cifras de El Salvador*, 1956 (San Salvador: Ministerio de Economía, 1957), p. 4.

⁴ *Population of Central America (Including Mexico), 1950-1980* (New York: United Nations Organization, 1954).

America and with underdeveloped areas in general. It also is in harmony with the Davis thesis of the negative association between urbanization and agricultural density.⁵ The urban population of the country actually decreased from 38.3 to 36.5 per cent between 1930 and 1950 and remained at 36.7 in 1957. Although the census authorities in most of Latin America prefer centers of 2,000 or 2,500 as demarcating the urban, El Salvador prefers the figure 500; with this criterion the country can be considered as approximately one-third urban. If 5,000 is the designation, the country may be considered as 21.7 per cent urban, which is not far from the norm of most of Latin America. In any case, the persistence of a predominantly rural population, despite growing commercialization and incipient industrialization, is somewhat perplexing. Possibly this rural character can be explained by certain factors more or less unique to the Salvadorean scene: (1) The country is exclusively agricultural with individual households living in *champas*, or huts, distributed over the land. (2) The population enjoys quasi urbanization because of the relatively small size of the country. Specifically, more than 95 per cent of the population live within thirty miles of the three cities of thirty thousand or more inhabitants. (3) The fairly universal tendency of the urban population to restrict its birth rate may be significant; however, this interpretation must be observed with utmost caution in view of the inaccuracy of census data, i.e., the failure to report deaths accurately in the rural area, which again may tend to inflate the latter's proportion of the population.

The question remains as to why El Salvador and certain other Latin-American countries exhibit little growth of the urban population despite the development of commerce and some degree of industrialization. It is surprising that the heavy migration of young people to the urban centers has not raised the ratio of urbanites. San Salvador, the capital and major city, is obviously expanding at a faster rate than the other urban centers of the country. However, the exact pattern of rural-urban distribution will have to wait until more accurate census methods can be devised for the remote areas.

⁵ Kingsley Davis and Hilda H. Golden, "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-industrial Areas," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Cities and Society* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 120-40. According to Jack P. Gibbs and Kingsley Davis, "Conventional Versus Metropolitan Data in the International Study of Urbanization," *American Sociological Review*, 23: 504-14, El Salvador is judged to be 36.5 per cent urban and 11.9 per cent living in metropolitan areas. In other words, it is urban to about the same extent as most of Latin America with the exception of Argentina, Cuba, and a few other countries.

Some Suggested Solutions. The social scientists can hardly view a demographic catastrophe as in the case of El Salvador and certain other of the overpopulated though underdeveloped areas of the world without suggesting some possible alternatives. One familiar solution for the impasse would be industrialization and modernization, as this process generally brings rapid change in the form of population increase in its early phases and decline in the later stages. However, there is hardly sufficient time for that solution in view of the urgency of the situation. Furthermore, the possibilities of industrialization are limited in Central America due to a lack of critical resources, skills, and readily available markets and purchasing power. Yet in the last decade there has been some medium industrialization, particularly in textiles, foodstuffs, and other consumer's items. The next decade will undoubtedly witness further development of light industries. This economic diversification is extremely necessary in view of the highly agricultural nature of the country, especially as it has been practically confined to one crop, namely, coffee.

Another solution is out-migration. Although figures are difficult to obtain, it appears that nearly one hundred thousand Salvadoreans are residing in underpopulated Honduras. Bureaucracy and various border restrictions along with certain economic barriers have restrained this migration to a fraction of what it should be ideally. If the long-awaited Central American federation or union can be initiated, this problem of emigration can be enormously facilitated. Also the union would make for a more effective economy throughout Central America. However, national pride and various rivalries will likely prevent the present Organization of Central America republics (ODECA) from becoming what it might be.

Certainly the most drastic attack on the problem of overpopulation would be a specific birth control program. Considering the mores and folkways of Latin America there appears to be little probability of success with a program of voluntary sterility. Nonetheless, the establishment of certain birth control clinics, as has occurred in Puerto Rico, may point the way of possible reform for other parts of Hispanic America. The teachings of the Catholic Church constitute only one obstacle to a birth control policy. More basic is the rural character of the country with its low standard of living. Consequently, a program of industrialization is desirable, as it probably means higher standards of education and health as well as the strengthening of the middle class. The Salvadorean government, along with the International Cooperation Administration (Point Four) of the United States government, and the United

Nations are at present attempting to improve the use of the land and to pave the way for industrialization to whatever its potential may be. As the most densely populated country on the American continent, there is little doubt as to the need of reform in El Salvador in a variety of directions.

GROUPS VERSUS THE INDIVIDUAL

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Until recent generations a man belonged to few groups—the family, the tribe, a religious group—and these had only a small membership. Now, an individual usually belongs to many groups and some of these have many members—the nation, a labor union, a professional association, a political party, an insurance organization, an investment trust, a corporation, a business association, a cooperative establishment, a club, a fraternal body, or a gang. One rough-and-ready measure of civilization may be the number of groups to which the typical person belongs.

In the last three quarters of a century, certain groups, such as corporations, unions, and business associations, have become very influential in the political and economic fields. To get things done, the individual must tie in with certain organizations, old or new. When he becomes a member of a group, he is expected to be ready to discuss, to compromise, to do teamwork. In short, a good member must be a reasonable fellow. The extreme individualist is anathema.

The brainy boy and the man of unusual ability and initiative are likely to be outcasts from the groups to which they would normally belong. The nonconformist is distrusted. In other words, group ideals or "images" demand conformity rather than initiative from members, and "conformity breeds sterility." However, in too many instances, "success" appears to follow only if one becomes an "organization man." The emphasis often placed upon the good mixer may be a consequence of the rapid material development which quickly transformed pioneer and agricultural America into a complex industrial nation.

The captains of industry or the "robber barons" of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth were men of power interested primarily in making money. The broader view of community welfare taken by many corporation officials in recent years did not appeal to this earlier group of industrial and financial magnates. Money was power.

Today, the labor leader is in somewhat the same position as were the earlier captains of industry. Power comes through the ability to direct members of the union by means of strikes, picket lines, boycotts, political influence. When the leaders of one union can practically tie up transportation over a wide area—possibly nationwide—and when labor leaders

control millions of dollars paid in by the members of unions, they approach or exceed the economic and political influence of financial giants of two generations ago. Corporations have been restricted in their business activities by law. Labor organizations are today favored by many special legal immunities.

Members of the management group in a big corporation are prone to become "organization men" who conform to the general pattern and who gradually lose the precious gifts of initiative and individuality. Teamwork rather than hard individual effort is demanded in many an organization. A major problem of today is that of maintaining a considerable modicum of independent individual effort while continuing as an active member of a group. Members of a labor organization are often forced to support the program of the officials.

Even in colleges and universities the exceptional thinker is too frequently pressured to conform to the orthodox mold. An observer, P. E. Jacobs, of recent college life holds that students emerge from four years of college more alike than when they entered. He asserts that the American college has become a "vehicle of conformity."

In the United States our public school system has failed to place sufficient stress upon the direction and education of the gifted student. This we must do in the immediate future or suffer in world competition. Many believe that American schools should stress "social conditioning." In other words, instead of emphasizing individual mental training and the ability to solve problems of sundry kinds, the school system should stress ability to conform to social standards and to get along with fellow-men. However, this point of view overemphasizes conformity and good fellowship. The age in which we are now living demands new skills and attitudes; it calls urgently for men and women who are able to initiate new programs and who act vigorously to overcome social inertia.

In 1959, a basic demand is for security. Young executives and staff members are in danger of becoming "comfortable, insignificant" cogs of an organization. Today, the corporation, the business, the plant, and the union are becoming centers of power to which the primary allegiance of all connected is demanded. Two common practices are also sapping freedom of action and of movement: installment buying, that is, mortgaging the future pay checks, and the swelling system of fringe benefits which tie an employee to one company. After he has worked for a firm for a few years, an employee hesitates to leave because he may forfeit certain pension and other rights.

Nevertheless, even in this era of automation, huge corporations, and

powerful unions, progress appears to depend, in no small degree, upon individuals who have the courage to think new thoughts and to do things in a new and very different manner. This is true, not only in domestic affairs, such as politics, business, and educational institutions, but also in foreign affairs. In this dynamic epoch, a fresh outlook upon our relations with other nations is imperative. Men and women are needed with ideas geared to the new, strange, and rapidly changing world—individuals who are not afraid to challenge orthodox points of view.

Now is definitely a time for leadership which can draw Americans away from the worship of low, long, and high-powered automobiles, of comfort, and of a very short working week—from abject conformity to group patterns. Even though Americans are living in Patten's "pleasure economy" or in Galbraith's "affluent society," our leaders should demand efficient personal service from each and every person as well as devotion to the nation's and to humanity's welfare.

The growing size and the economic and political strength of large corporations and of big labor organizations necessitate a new survey of the role of government in order to preserve the essentials of a democratic form of government and of the "free enterprise" system. As the economy becomes more and more complex and interrelated and as the tempo of change becomes more rapid, the necessity for additional central direction becomes clear. One of the major difficulties in Communist Russia appears to be the increase in the hierarchy of officials, supervisors, accountants, bookkeepers, and secretaries. More effort is spent in "nonproductive labor" than in the countries of the "free world." Communism and other forms of highly centralized and autocratic control are extreme examples of compact centralized social organization in which the individual is reduced nearly to zero.

While the federal government of the United States is not as autocratic as that in a Communist or Fascist state, it has been growing in power over the local and state authorities and over the individual citizens. Since I was a boy, governmental interference with individuals and groups has multiplied; heavy taxation, central control over transportation, manufacture, and sale of products, and social security are examples.

In 1959, ownership of stock in a big corporation is far different from ownership of a farm or of a small business in 1890. My grandfather owned his large farm and made business decisions; no business executives or governmental officials told him what to do, such as how many acres he could plant. His direct taxes were local and state. He did not pay an income tax. His grandchildren and great grandchildren are employees.

Some of them own their homes and may own a few shares of stock in corporations, but their only functions in connection with their part ownership in corporate industry is to sign proxies and draw dividends, if declared.

Employees are obliged to conform to group requirements—corporate loyalty, union loyalty, and community customs and habits. It may also be pointed out that pension funds, insurance companies, investment trusts, and special trust funds own large blocks of corporate securities, still further modifying the control of corporations. Grandfather was an individualist. His grandchildren and great-grandchildren are almost inevitably conformists. If one of these deviates from the specific expectations of his corporate employer, his union, or his neighborhood, he will become a lonely individual.

When an instrumentality, whether a corporation or a labor organization, becomes powerful, very powerful—under the American Constitution, it should be subjected to governmental control and regulation, whether it be the Pennsylvania Railway or the Teamsters' Union, whether it be an insurance company or a huge pension fund.

For the welfare of the human race, it is far more important that humans learn how to live in peace without mass violence than it is to be able to land men on Mars or the Moon. Space ships may be very desirable, but the easing of world tensions between groups is today of major importance to mankind. As well as launching more and bigger satellites or exploring Mars, men and women of this sphere, called Earth, should be diligently and intelligently seeking the betterment of its inhabitants, individually and collectively. The old slogan of "make the world safe for democracy" should give place, in the words of General Omar Bradley, to that of "making the world safe for living." Devoted men and women are essential to transform such a slogan into a living reality.

Living in an era of rapid transportation and communication, men and women begin timidly to grasp the idea of a world group, including all peoples and all nations. When the welfare of this group becomes an important goal of mankind, we may hope for world peace and prosperity. If more of the world's brain power had been devoted in recent years to such programs, mankind might not be in grave danger of destruction. Basic research in human relations is now important. In the hysterical demand for scientists and engineers, the realms which alone may make for world peace may be overlooked.

In the near future, world peace may depend upon the establishment of a world group or a federation with the power to control recalcitrant

nations and able to bring law and order into what is now called international relations. How sufficient strength may be given to a world federation without unduly dominating local and national groups, and also individuals, is a vital and urgent problem. As far as can now be seen, this world group or federation would be the ultimate in organized communities, unless there is finally needed a universe group or federation.

The organization of a world federation with a reasonable degree of stability will doubtless be delayed until the great differences in economic conditions and political outlooks are in some degree reduced. And such reduction will require earnest endeavors on the part of leading nations of the free world. Of course, no attempt should be made to mold all to the pattern of the present free world. Sincere endeavors should be the order of the day to bring about mutual understanding and to minimize extreme unlikeness and intolerance.

The radio and the airplane have made distant peoples neighbors in the physical sense, but little advance has been made in understanding and sympathy between these new neighbors. The times call for a universal language, a common monetary unit, and generally accepted units of measurement. The history and problems of different national, racial, and religious groups might well be studied in all colleges and universities. If men and women knew more about the new neighbors that technological advance has given them, mutual understanding and sympathy would normally follow. After looking at modern means of warfare, a world federation and an approach to the brotherhood of man appear to be essential for human survival on this shrinking globe.

CONFORMITY AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

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American writers of fiction, essay, and drama have long decried the middle class in our society, but especially since the last war has this numerically massive segment of our population been the subject of constant ridicule. The style of living, reading habits, consumption of household items, child-rearing practices, and the rituals of family living have been under unwarranted attack. The bourgeoisie, we are told, is a powerful force molding men to a similar pattern of conformity; yet few voices from this unfortunate group have risen above the increasing clamor of derision. It is time, therefore, to re-examine this middle class in order to see whether the prevailing sentiments of the intellectual literati are valid and to determine whether there are any middle-class virtues worth retaining.

It has become a standard cocktail joke to deride a particular form of behavior as "so bourgeois" or "decidedly middle class." So widespread is this type of phraseology that even the "decidedly middle class" has used it and has sought increasing but marginal differentiation in the consumption of goods (as David Riesman points out) in order to escape the heavy weight of conforming to patterned expectations of style, behavior, and furniture.

For decades literary attacks have been made on what is referred to as the stolid, dull, conformistic mediocrity of the middle class. The justifiable concern of Sinclair Lewis with *Babbitt* only revived the general stream of essays deploring Philistinism and the inflexible reactionary. The *Death of A Salesman* by Miller and *The Organization Man* by Whyte point to the dangers of becoming a rutted, routinized conformist in industrial and other types of bureaucracies. But in the past few years there has been a *mentis gratissimus* error in the expansion and extension of these valid pronouncements of writers like Miller, Riesman, Whyte, *et al.*, for the entire middle class has become a label of conformity, a symbol of the Unimaginative Man. So far has this derision gone that recently Peter Viereck made a plea for the Unadjusted Man and invites us to escape from the mold of the masses.

How far we have come from the thirties and forties when the chief goal of psychological training was Adjustment—always with a capital A! Perhaps our adjustment to the collective group has indeed become extreme, but these are relative judgments and may be found among the luxuries permitted to a prosperous nation not at war. Fighting against the fears of mass unemployment and fear itself during the thirties, and then against totalitarian aggression during the forties required a degree of social consciousness, *esprit de corps*, and acceptance of prescribed institutionalized roles of thought and action such as our nation had never before witnessed. The present cold war does not present an immediate, direct threat. There have been suggestions that for the remainder of this century our tense international relations will be suspended between the idealized peace held in 1945 and the speculated total destruction of another war. Under these circumstances there is less pressure than during national emergencies to conform to a national pattern, and we can enjoy the democratic luxury of self-criticism which views conformity with alarm.

But blind conformity should not be confused with belonging to the middle class. Adherence to middle class values is not the same as "over-adjustment," Philistinism, or mediocrity. Yet it is this kind of association between the middle class and the common criticisms about the organization man and the lonely crowd that is unwarrantedly made by an increasingly abundant number of people who seek variegated ways to "express their individuality" and to "escape the middle-class mold." My chief contentions, therefore, are, first, that identifying unimaginative conformity with the middle class is an error of association of ideas, a lack of proper perception; and, second, that the middle class with its system of values constitutes the basic framework of our harmoniously functioning society.

Excessive conformity to cultural expectations has been a phenomenon common to almost every major historical period through which Western civilization has passed. Toynbee speaks of the development of the Universal State as a symptom of civilizational decay, and of the need for a new or revived challenge to stimulate appropriate response. In the past, whenever similar expectations of behavior became excessively universal and the institutional demands for conformity too oppressive for the creative, dynamic individual, some one or some group always appeared on the cultural scene and was able to break through, to produce a revolution of thought or action. Shakespeare revolutionized the form of drama and theater. Cimabue and Giotto broke through the formal stylization

of medieval art. So deeply embedded in astronomic and religious thought was the Ptolemaic conception of the universe that Copernicus and Galileo were revolutionaries of their time. Guido d'Arezzo, like Plato's philosopher bringing us out of the cave into sunlight, led us beyond the monochromatic scale into a polyphony of unlimited variation. In religion, architecture, law, and many other similar fields where cultural change occurred, the geniuses of history have deviated from the demands to conform when an institutional trait reached classic perfection of form and style, or when the requirements to conform became unbearable to the nascent spirit of man. Nonconformity of this type has always been an active, positive force—a voice of dignity and reason. Not always among the instances in which a few men revolutionized a style can it be claimed that the old form was something necessarily to be discarded. There is much delight derived from the classic Greek drama, the Gregorian chant, Gothic architecture, and from forms of art, thought, and behavioral expectations of earlier periods in our history. The old is not always totally displaced by the new.

Deviation, then, almost by definition appears to arise out of excessive conformity in a culture. Deviation that endures and becomes a pattern has been productive and pragmatically successful. Quacks, quirks, and phrenetic fringes have always been with us, and the heroes of history may have been labeled horrible heretics at the time of their innovations, but each was promulgating a positive thought or action based upon the virtuous elements of the traditions from which they sprang. When a religious, political, or other social innovator stepped out of the bounds of rigid conformity, he was pushed by the tyranny of the institution whose demands were too oppressive and pulled by the dynamic quality of the human spirit.

Perhaps it is true that one of the major battles man faces today is that of increasing depersonalization and mechanization, of trends toward centralization and overadjustment. These may be valid assertions; but, when we are told that it is the "middle-class morality that places chains of restrictions on individuality," that it is the "stultifying middle class" that is responsible for these social ills, and that "the pressure to conform is a middle-class phenomenon," then an unjustifiable connection is made between some real dangers in contemporary society and a social class that happens to be numerically the largest. Although bureaucracy may sometimes be an efficient means of organizational functioning, the resulting personality-damaging aspects of it that have been under attack should not be associated with the meaning given to the middle class nor

the prevailing middle-class system of values. The creative, autonomous individual who is universally admired appears on all levels of the social class structure, and neither intellectuality nor intelligence owes allegiance to any particular class.

There are certain forms of middle-class behavior and thought that are most often derided. The delusions of happiness that are used to cover deep-seated, seething discontent and frustrations *do* undoubtedly occur among many middle-class families. The poignancy and directness of *Death of A Salesman* make this play one of the most important in the modern theater. There is perhaps a certain amount of drudgery and dull routine in which a middle-class Sisyphus daily participates. C. Wright Mills has portrayed many white-collar workers in this way. But it is presumptuous speculation to contend that the majority of the middle class is unhappy, despairing, confused, and drab. There is just as much evidence to propose an opposite contention. Furthermore, it may be that some social analysts who emphasize the despairing nature of the middle class project their own psyche into the life situations of the group they analyze and that they imagine how they (the writers) would respond as a typical white-collar worker in an executive job in American business.

Because the average American middle-class male goes to work every morning on the 8:02, sits at the same desk every day, works and lunches with the same office corps, is met on the 5:45 by his middle-class wife and preschool child in middle-class suburbia, it does not follow that he is bulging with frustrations and is following a life that leads nowhere. The bare outline of a daily routine fails to indicate the many pleasures that may be had at work, with associates, and within the family circle. What if he is one of thousands of similar commuters living in a housing development and has a middle-class automobile and two or three typically middle-class kids? The fact that he is doing some productive work, that he supports a family, that he is capable of providing decent clothing, shelter, and affection for his children should be viewed as more than a patterned mold of conformity. Moreover, this pattern may be a pattern simply *because* it provides an ease of living, harmony, and comfort that previous generations of strivers sought and failed to attain.

This middle-class male, his wife, and children may in fact be quite happy and do not seek more than marginal differentiation because of their contentment. Perhaps it is a life of some mediocrity for many, but there is merit in an abundance of middle-class mediocrity. (Webster defines *mediocre* as moderate excellence.) We are not, nor can we all be, geniuses, leaders, or President. Our open-class society permits suffi-

cient striving and leaves open the door to leadership and achievement without causing mass anxiety about the inability to rise among the leading few. Only under the totalitarian restraints of a tyrannical set of conduct norms is the individual forced to seek refuge entirely outside the group. Within a democratic framework and an open-class society, there is adequate opportunity for flexibility and variation as well as for social mobility. If some kind of generalized conformity exists within this framework,¹ perhaps it is not so horrendous or oppressive as is often suggested. If it were, the underlying strength that historically gave rise to the middle class would rescue the group.

There are basic values in American culture that find roots in the Judeo-Christian tradition, that were incorporated into the spirit of the Italian Renaissance and the Protestant Ethic, nepotized in the French and American revolutions. English common law borne by the colonial forefathers was part of the American rising middle-class structure. Norms of conduct stemming from these sources have produced the predominant value system in our society—and this is a middle-class value system.

There are semantic and other problems involved in any attempt to identify empirically the middle class, but included among middle-class norms is the ethic of rationality, forethought, planning. Emphasis is placed on respect for property and for the dignity of the person, which implies self-control and control of physical violence and aggression. The qualities of industry and thrift, of economic and occupational skills, of individual responsibility, resourcefulness, and self-reliance are considered admirable in themselves. Ambition, or the desire to "get ahead," has grown side by side with the striving middle class. The students of social class have detailed these middle-class values and have analyzed their relationship to a variety of economic and political aspects of American society. These norms constitute a value system that may not be the best of all possible worlds; they may be ideals imperfectly performed in reality. Whether they are proper norms is a dilemma for the absolutist. That they have provided a workable and harmoniously functioning society capable of withstanding onslaughts from without and weaknesses from within, history can record.

Conformity to this value system may, in this light, be desirable. The middle class has an ontological stability sufficiently tested and secure, composed of lasting values shared by most creative individuals and groups. These are not ephemeral values of the moment crying for attention and making demands for conformity to a less flexible set of norms.

William Graham Sumner long ago pointed out that one can no more escape from the mores than he can from the laws of gravity. To divorce oneself from the prevailing mores simply means withdrawal into another set of mores. The middle-class mores have survived dynamic social change and have moved forward harmoniously with developments in the arts, science, and literature because one of the virtues of the middle-class value system is that it permits a wide range of behavior and attitude, including opportunities for innovation and change *within* the system.

What are the alternatives to this value system? The cult of the Beat and Angry men? As a way of life for a total society this kind of nihilism and vacuous negativism (which the middle class can tolerate quite easily) would result in mass nonproductive disorder. Some forms of Bohemian life are subcultural delights that provide refreshing vitality and constitute an expression of the alliance between the middle class and social and political freedom. It is interesting, however, how diffusive the prevailing middle-class value system is among many contemporary Bohemians and lesser sorts of deviants.

Another alternative, of course, is legal nonconformity—abrogation of middle-class norms that have been codified into law. Delinquency, crime, drug addiction, etc., certainly are deviations. The abiding interest the middle class has in literature, the cinema, and television that dwell on the themes of detective mysteries, crime and violence, indicates that the populace enjoys taking vicarious excursions into this type of nonconformity. We may smile at the vicariousness and economically profit from it; yet we are appalled at overt manifestations of this kind of nonconformity. When the delinquent or criminal is taken into custody, even the most ardent attackers of the "decidedly middle class" agree to the principle of reformation or rehabilitation. We seek to help the offender to adjust and to conform. And to what should he adjust? According to which set of values is he being reformed? We want him to conform to what kind of social expectations? Check the list of middle-class norms again and the answers are obvious. The reason society seeks to mold, to reform the delinquent and the criminal to this pattern is not only that it is the predominant pattern in American culture; it is also the pattern most likely to produce an integrated and socially useful human being.

The fight for individuality, personal differentiation, and the private life is a universal struggle. The genetic uniqueness of each individual and the wide range for personality development provided through middle-class values offer a continuity of optimism rather than despair. Con-

formity to this productive set of norms that results in social harmony and strength may be viewed as a virtue. Should the strictures toward conformity become too great or too rigid, the amorphous, unorganized, and flexible nature of the American middle class is such that it can permit changes to occur within the framework of the value system it supports.

RACE REACTIONS BY SEXES

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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This paper deals with the question: Do men and women react in the same ways to given racial and cultural groups? The data which serve as a basis for discussing this question are found in the race relations study that was made by the writer in 1956 of a sample of 2,053 men and women from 33 different areas in the United States, ranging chiefly between the ages of 18 and 35 and divided about equally between college students and college graduates, most of whom were employed but taking one or more courses of advanced study.

The results of that study have been reported in part in a paper in which comparisons were made of the racial reactions of these persons with the reactions of similar persons in 1926 and in 1946 to a similar list of thirty selected racial groups, as that term is generally used by the public.¹

In the 1956 study the racial reactions of 2,053 respondents have been broken down in a number of ways. One of these is described in these pages; namely, a division of the total number of participants was made in terms of the two sexes. Another reclassification was carried out in terms of the racial reactions of the subjects according to four main regions of the United States in which they lived. This report deals only with the findings when the breakdown by sexes is considered.

The 2,053 subjects in the 1956 study included 1,005 men and 1,048 women. The division is nearly equal in number, and the other factors are similar for both groups. That is to say, the men and women had similar amounts of education, they were nearly the same ages, and they came from the same localities in the United States. Their religious representation was similar, their economic status was similar, and their cultural backgrounds were similar. The main difference between the two classifications was sex, and hence the data have been tabulated so as to determine if any difference may be found between their racial reactions to the same list of thirty racial groupings.

When the racial distance reactions of the 1,005 men and the 1,048 women were compared, it was found that with one exception these re-

¹ "Racial Distance Changes in the United States During the Past Thirty Years," *Sociology and Social Research*, 43:127-35.

actions were higher for women than for men, signifying the expression of a greater distance toward 29 of the 30 races that were listed. The one exception was the reaction to the "Americans (U.S. white)," in which case the racial distance scores for the two sexes were the same, 1.08. In the reactions to the other 29 racial groups, the scores of the women ranged from 2 to 47 points higher. The arithmetic mean of the reactions of the 2,053 men and women considered as a unit was 2.07, of the 1,005 men considered by themselves was 1.97 and of the 1,048 women, 2.17. The reactions of the women represented about 20 points (19.8) more distance than did reactions of the men. However, the reactions of the women were not uniformly higher toward the different twenty-nine races. Toward 15 races the reactions of the women represented less than 20 points and toward 14 other races the reactions of the women represented more than 20 points of distance. With two exceptions the less-than-20 points difference in the scores were in the nearness half of the racial distance reactions. These exceptions were the Poles and Greeks. The greater-than-20 points difference in the racial reactions of the men and women was in the farness half of the racial distance scores, with three exceptions—the Jews, Armenians, and Negroes. The most significant exception is the low amount of difference in the scores of the men and the women toward Negroes.

The least difference between the reactions of the men and the women toward the 29 races was expressed toward the English and the Finns (2 points); French, 5 points; Irish, 7 points; Canadians and Swedish, 9 points; and Negroes, 10 points. The greatest difference in these reactions of the men and women was expressed toward the Koreans, 24 points; Japanese and Russians, 47 points each.

The question arises as to why the racial distance reactions of the women are greater than those of the men. This question cannot be answered finally here. Ordinary types of interviewing and data obtained from questionnaires will not suffice. Individuals cannot tell offhand in many instances why they react racially the way they do. Some do not know why. Some give a superficial answer, referring to the most recent striking racial experience that they have had. Few go back to conditioning experiences which throw light on why they have reacted in given ways to specific racial contacts. It is evident that in this field some form of depth interviewing is needed in order that the most important explanatory factors may be uncovered.

The interview data at hand, although inadequate, suggest four hypotheses that may be tested by further research. (1) The greater racial

distance expressed by women than by men may be accounted for in part on the ground that men have more racial contacts than women have. (2) Men have more racial information, by virtue of these contacts, than do women. (3) Men meet members of other races more often in a business way than do women, while women meet other racial members in the more personal ways. (4) Custom and public opinion put more restraint on women than on men in meeting individuals of other races.

TABLE 1

RACIAL REACTIONS BY SEXES (Total N 2053)

Races	Of 2,053 Men and Women	Of 1,005 Men	Of 1,048 Women	Differences in Scores
Toward				
1. Americans (U.S. white)	1.08	1.08	1.08	.00
2. Canadians	1.16	1.12	1.21	.09
3. English	1.23	1.22	1.24	.02
4. French	1.47	1.44	1.49	.05
5. Irish	1.56	1.52	1.59	.07
6. Swedish	1.57	1.52	1.61	.09
7. Scots	1.60	1.52	1.68	.16
8. Germans	1.61	1.53	1.68	.15
9. Hollanders	1.63	1.54	1.71	.17
10. Norwegians	1.66	1.59	1.74	.15
11. Finns	1.80	1.79	1.81	.02
12. Italians	1.89	1.83	1.94	.11
13. Poles	2.07	1.92	2.20	.28
14. Spanish	2.08	2.01	2.14	.13
15. Greeks	2.09	1.98	2.19	.21
16. Jews	2.15	2.07	2.23	.16
17. Czechs	2.22	2.00	2.45	.45
18. Armenians	2.33	2.26	2.46	.14
19. Japanese Americans	2.34	2.21	2.47	.26
20. Indians, American	2.35	2.23	2.47	.24
21. Filipinos	2.46	2.34	2.58	.24
22. Mexican Americans	2.51	2.29	2.72	.43
23. Turks	2.56	2.37	2.75	.37
24. Russians	2.62	2.40	2.92	.52
25. Chinese	2.68	2.50	2.79	.29
26. Japanese	2.70	2.47	2.94	.47
27. Negroes	2.74	2.68	2.78	.10
28. Mexicans	2.79	2.65	2.91	.27
29. Indians from India	2.80	2.69	2.90	.21
30. Koreans	2.83	2.65	2.99	.34
Arithmetic means of 61,590 racial reactions	2.08	1.98	2.18	.20

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NEWS NOTES

Pacific Sociological Society. The 1960 annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society will be in Spokane under the joint sponsorship of Washington State University and the University of Idaho. President Donald Cressey has asked that a committee consisting of Leo Reeder of the UCLA Medical School and Edward McDonagh of SC assist him in screening the submitted papers for the Spokane meeting.

University of California, Berkeley. Professor Herbert Blumer returns to the Department from Brazil, where he has been serving as a research consultant to the center newly established there by UNESCO. Beginning July 1, 1959, he takes up his new part-time duties as director of the Institute of Social Science at Berkeley. Hanan Selvin will take part in an S.S.R.C. Summer Seminar on Peer Group Culture and Adolescence at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Seymour Lipset is teaching at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies during June and July. William Petersen, associate professor of sociology at the University of Colorado, has been appointed associate professor in the department. Robert Alford and Inge Powell have been appointed lecturers for 1959-60. William O. Nicholls, now lecturer in sociology at Columbia University, has been appointed as an instructor. Philip Selznick has been appointed as vice-chairman of the department for 1959-60 succeeding Kingsley Davis.

University of Southern California. Dr. Thomas Ely Lasswell, professor of sociology, Grinnell College, has joined the department as an associate professor of sociology. Dr. Lasswell will continue to specialize in community stratification studies and assume some of the editorial responsibilities of *Sociology and Social Research*. Drs. Georges Sabagh and Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., have received a substantial grant from the National Science Foundation to study the "Demographic Factors in the Growth of Urban Subareas." Dr. Harvey J. Locke returns to the department after a sabbatical leave. Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan, emeritus professor of sociology, received the Alumni Distinctive Service Award from Drake University on May 7. For a period of twenty-five years Dr. McClenahan served the Department of Sociology. The following graduate students passed their qualifying examinations for the Ph.D. degree: Harold Hubbard, Harold Nelson, Issis Istiphan, and Richard Udry. Three advanced graduate students received the doctorate in sociology: Abraham Rosenblum, Rabbi, Verdugo Hills Hebrew Temple; Alexander P. Runciman, Staff Director at KNXT, Columbia Broadcasting System; and Merle E. Fish, Jr., Director of Development, School of Religion, Columbia, Missouri.

Whittier College. Professor John Burma of Grinnell College is visiting summer professor of sociology. Professor Jerome Patton is in charge of the first group of Whittier College students living abroad with headquarters at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark. Robert O'Brien will spend the coming year in England as an exchange professor. Professor Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina rejoins the Whittier College sociology staff.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE WAIST-HIGH CULTURE. By Thomas Griffith. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959, pp. vii+275.

The first third of the book is autobiographical; the remainder deals with a large variety of foreign and domestic issues including the American image at home and abroad.

Griffith describes his early life in a boardinghouse for children in Seattle, his paper-carrying days, and his adolescent experiences. As a youth he was a University of Washington student, New Dealer, idealist, and critic. He now wonders "whether some of that idealism with which I credited myself and fellow sword-bearers in that anonymous army got lost or was never really there." Much of his story is of course unique, but the broader setting is one common to a generation. The author's work as Foreign News Editor of *Time* has given him an unusual opportunity to analyze foreign affairs and American policy. This discussion makes up the second part of the book. A chapter title "Making Allies and Losing Friends" gives a cue to the critical tone of the analysis.

The third section, devoted to the American situation, is somewhat more sociological, if, some may think, less astute in analysis. Griffith is rightly concerned with the problems of mass culture. "Waist-high" refers to a culture that exalts the middle—the widest audience, the biggest market, the average man. The results are that "We are being done in by irrelevancies, levelled by palaver and coated with sham." He deplors "... the false leveling of equality in American life," and thinks that democracy is suspicious of high standards and may be inherently hostile to the "first rate." Griffith recognizes the existence of an economic elite that is "the most powerful element in the community." The elite, however, is not behaving as an elite should. Some may read into this discussion a secret desire for a "proper" elite; however, this would not be

completely fair to Griffith. The elite are very likely to behave just as he describes them.

A remarkable aspect of the book is that the author identifies himself with the society and with many of the trends which disturb him. He is a part of it and makes no attempt to withdraw from American life and look in on it from the outside or down on it from above, as is usually the case when academicians attempt such an analysis.

JOEL B. MONTAGUE

Washington State University

ANCESTORS AND IMMIGRANTS. By Barbara M. Solomon. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. 276.

This work attempts to examine the attitudes of Boston Brahmins toward themselves in their local society from 1850 to 1920. The proper Bostonians by 1850 had developed a distinctive code of values governing their relations with both man and God. This code came to a severe test when the Irish immigration rate reached a high tide in 1880. Lowell purported that the Irish could never become true patriots to their adopted land. In retrospect it is strange to learn that James Russell Lowell believed that "men of English blood" had a hereditary instinct for democracy. Solomon traces the development of the Immigration Restrictive League, which became responsible for the passage of the nationality quotas in the 1921 and 1924 immigration laws. One of the favorable aspects of the immigration process seems to have been the gradual acceptance of each ethnic group after an initial period of criticism.

E.C.M.

THE STUDY OF POPULATION. *An Inventory and an Appraisal.* Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. xvi+864.

This is indeed a formidable volume on demography—its nature, its elements, scope, methods, and relationships to ecology, geography, anthropology, genetics, economics, and sociology. Thirty-three essays contributed by top-flight men in the field, including the editors, form the substance of the book. For a long time, it will probably be the chief aid and encyclopedia for those who wish to consult an authoritative demographical source.

Beginning with a chapter entitled "Overview and Conclusions" by the editors, the four major divisions of the book deal with demography as a science, the development and current status of demography, the elements of demography, population studies in various disciplines. Hauser

and Duncan, in preparing the agenda and plan for the contributors, suggested the following definition for guidance: "Demography is the study of the size, territorial distribution, and composition of population changes therein, and the components of such changes, which may be identified as natality, mortality, territorial movement (migration), and social mobility (change of status)." The essays have generally followed this definition, observing its limitations as outlined by the editors, who have noted that "demographic research is conducted within an explicit and coherent frame of reference."

An interesting phase of demography as a science is that "it is dependent for its data on observation and recording of events occurring in the external world rather than on experiments under more or less controlled conditions in the laboratory." It is subjected to the weakness of gathering reliable and complete data, since, over the editors, only 80 per cent of the world's population was enumerated in some kind of census during the decade between 1945 and 1954. For students interested in theory, there are some excellent notes on it under the caption of "Demographers' Conceptions of Theory" in the more general discussion of demography as a body of knowledge. Limitations of space ban an evaluation of the essays, but one may truly state that all are written expertly by experts.

M.J.V.

CITY LIFE IN JAPAN. A Study of a Tokyo Ward. By Donald P. Dore.
University of California Press, 1958, pp. x+472.

This treatise is based on a social survey that was made in Japan in 1951. The author, an associate professor of Asian studies at the University of British Columbia, lived for several months in a Tokyo lower middle-class ward or precinct and collected his data primarily through the methods of participant observation and interviews.

In the early chapters of the study, Professor Dore describes the standards of living of the ward inhabitants. He includes a detailed description of their houses, family incomes, expenditures, and aspects of health and security. He depicts the means by which the people of this section of Tokyo accommodate their daily lives to different levels of income, what they look forward to, and what they fear.

Later chapters examine the family system, political attitudes, education, leisure, neighborhood groups, religion, and morality. The author shows that there have been changes in the modes of living and attitudes which have been brought about in part by the technological process and in part by the impact of Western influences. Throughout, Professor

Dore attempts to compare modern urban Japan both with the old culture of feudal Japan and with Western industrial societies, and to analyze the process of social change.

To the reviewer, the book seems to lack integration and it is somewhat lacking in structuralized research design, theoretical orientation, and conceptual scheme. On the other hand, the author does formulate hypotheses and test them, and he refrains from making unwarranted generalizations.

Despite the weaknesses mentioned above, this volume is an excellent and highly readable work. It contains a wealth of facts and information relating to the transition experienced in the life of the ordinary Japanese city-dweller. The book is a must for those who have a combined interest in the social sciences and the Far East.

I. ROGER YOSHINO
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ANALIS SOCIO-ECONOMICO DEL BARRIO "SAGRADA FAMILIA."

By Sakari Sariola. San Jose, Costa Rica: Escuela Superior de Administracion Publica America Central, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1958, pp. 106.

The study represents a detailed analysis of a lower-class suburb of San Jose, the capital and largest city of Costa Rica. The work is a research project of an advanced university class. The graphs, statistical data, and some typical case material present an interesting picture of a rapidly changing Central American urbanized area. There are data and discussions on a variety of problems: rural-urban migration, unemployment, housing, inflation, alcoholism, and certain other tension areas. Social, political, and religious participation, as well as some of the details of family structure and behavior, receive attention.

In view of the nonempirical heritage of much of Latin-American sociology, it is refreshing to see the excellent statistical analyses (even though the chi-squares on class and rural-urban differences approached the obvious). As one who has been involved in a recent community study in Central America, the present previewer had some doubts about the validity of the interviewees' responses. Methodologically, however, the volume testifies to advanced knowledge on ecological and other techniques. On the whole, the author and his students should be congratulated for the fine organization and the inclusion of adequate tables, graphs, bibliography, and appendices. In addition, the findings are neatly summarized at the end of the book.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
Los Angeles City College

VOTING-BEHAVIOR IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE. By A. H. Somjee.
Baroda, India: M. S. University of Baroda, 1959, pp. 64.

In this interesting and important study special attention is given to interview methods in social situations where reliable and "objective" interviewing is very difficult. The theme is the significance of "vote-intention," or what in the United States would be called political polling. The author carefully examined the vote-intention of a voter in a given village (Gujarat) of 8,000 population near Bombay "against his social, economic, and religious background." His approach is that of both a political scientist and a social psychologist. His tool for gathering data is what may be called an interview-questionnaire. It was found, for instance, that "the economic factor considerably influenced the voting-behavior" in all occupations. A small minority were influenced chiefly by the urging of leaders. The influence of caste and religious sentiment "was considerable" but not "universally present." E.S.B.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

ESSAYS ON THE WELFARE STATE. By Richard M. Titmuss. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959, pp. 282.

This book consists of ten lectures given at different times. Most of them dealt with conditions in Great Britain. The present distribution of social and economic rewards is out of balance with the pattern of needs. More of the national income goes to those without dependent children. Part of the confusion in Britain's social policy is due to the fact that some services are classed as social service while others of equal importance are not. Private old-age pensions are increasing and tend to divide the population into distinct groups based on contrasting social service programs.

The remarkable decrease in birth rates during the last fifty years has released women for other services than childbearing. The gradual emancipation of women has brought about intellectual and temperamental compatibility between partners. It has also enabled women to achieve an independent life through the opening of work opportunities for all. One chapter deals with the anachronism found in the attitude of many doctors and nurses toward the hospital patients—a fact reminiscent of the conditions found in the hospitals by Florence Nightingale a

century earlier. The National Health Service has been of social value in England to patients and doctors alike in spite of the propaganda launched against it by medical associations.

The author outlines the varieties of medical, hospital, and dental care provided. The principle of free access to medical care had to be somewhat limited. There is practical freedom to choose or change one's doctor. Specialization has widened the distance between the general practitioner and the specialist—a condition that has produced considerable anxiety. Scientific medicine has undermined personal and individual authoritarianism in medicine. Increasing intelligence among the people results in a greater recourse to preventive methods.

An appendix yields evidence on the quantity and quality of general practitioners' work. Another lists important references covering the years from 1904 to the present time.

G.B.M.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE RESPONSIBLE SOCIETY. *A Comprehensive Survey of Christian Social Ethics.* By Walter G. Muelder. New York: Abingdon Press, 1959, pp. 304.

The materials for this book have come in the main from the pronouncements on social ethics by ecumenical and other church bodies, the teaching of Jesus, and the author's own analyses. Dean Muelder reports that he is writing "at the intersectional points of theological, philosophical and social science disciplines," and that his concern is for "emergent coherence."

The importance of mankind as constituting one world community is emphasized throughout the treatise. In the main chapters, certain basic "institutions of culture" are discussed, namely, the family and educational, political, economic, and religious institutions. The concluding chapters are entitled "Social Welfare and Church-State Relations" and "Responsible World Community."

The author effectively applies Christian ethics to important aspects of social life and institutions. Additional themes that might have received attention relate to the uses of leisure time and the extensive development of consumer, producer, credit union, housing, and health cooperatives in the United States today. The discussions throughout the book are fair minded, incisive, and thought arousing regarding the responsibilities of individuals for building a just social order and a world community.

E.S.B.

UNDERSTANDING AND PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

By Haskell M. Miller. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958, pp. ix+190.

This book is intended as a practical resource book for individuals, church, family, and community. As such, it fulfills its function very well. The particular interest is what the churches can do to help prevent delinquency. To present the material objectively, the author discusses what delinquency is, how many delinquents there are, why be concerned about the problem, the available research data on the subject, and what can be done by parents, churches, and community agencies to prevent the spread of delinquency. A wide range of sources were consulted and the material is presented concisely and accurately, recognizing that the data on the subject are limited and that more research is needed to ascertain the full extent, causes, and difficulties of the problem. M.H.N.

TOWARD BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE AGING. New York:

Council on Social Work Education, 1959, pp. 127.

This document gives a report on the "Seminar on the Aging," held in Aspen, Colorado, 1958. In addition to the Introduction by Katherine A. Kendall, associate director of the Council, a summary of discussion reports, and a bibliography, there are eight papers that treat of topics such as Aging in Modern Society, Emotional Functioning of Older People, Economic Functioning of Older People, and Some Sociological Research Findings About Older People (by Ethel Shanas and Ol A. Randall). Dr. Shanas, for instance, concludes her paper, perhaps the best of the group, with the assertion that the needs of older people are the needs of all people: economic security, something to do, a place to live, and a sense of physical and emotional well-being. The last term, emotional well-being, may be the most important of all. E.S.B.

RELATIONS HUMAINES ET RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES. By Mar-

cel Bolle De Bal. Brussels, Belgium: Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1958, pp. vi+146.

The Belgian sociologist De Bal attempts in this volume to clarify two complex fields, namely, human relations and industrial relations. Apparently his work grew out of his dissatisfactions with the unclear thinking of certain publications in these areas. More specifically, the problem is one of introducing human relations to a society noted for industrial conflict.

The first section of the book treats some of the definitions basic to the field and reviews the history of industrial sociology from Taylorism to the Western Electric studies, along with the contributions of sociometry and group dynamics. Some recent European developments are also mentioned.

The second section turns to the problem of how various industrial relations programs can be accepted in a country like Belgium with its European tradition of class conflict. The basic question appears to be the inability to reconcile differences between the unions and the employers about the status and purposes of human relations. The problem of structuring goals and values in view of some of the limitations and barriers occupies the last section of the book. The author pays particular attention to the role of the sociologist in helping to solve some of the impasses.

Naturally, the brevity of the work can permit only a limited discussion of the literature of the field. However, it is surprising that certain authorities, like Caplow, Dubin, Moore, and Whyte, are given so little attention, while some relatively minor contributions are heavily stressed. Still, the book presents some significant perspectives and ends with an impressive bibliography of both European and American sources.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON

Los Angeles City College

STANDARDS AND GUIDES FOR THE DETENTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH. New York: National Probation and Parole Association, 1958, pp. 142.

This report, prepared by the Advisory Committee on Detention and Shelter Care of Children and Youth, sets forth standards and guides for the controlling of admissions, detention care, planning and building of detention homes and facilities, and plans for regional detention. The cardinal concepts of detention are defined. Even though this booklet is not intended as a blueprint to be followed rigidly, it is one of the most carefully planned guides of detention care for the children in physically restricted facilities pending court disposition or transfer to another jurisdiction or agency, especially for the 100,000 children from seven to seventeen years of age inclusive who are now held in jails and jaillike places of detention.

THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY. By Sheldon Glueck, Editor. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959, pp. xxx+1183.

This book of readings, together with the introductions to the various chapters by the editor, is one of the most extensive assemblies of materials of juvenile delinquency yet compiled in one volume. Altogether, 186 articles are included, and each of the chapters is prefaced by an introductory note in which the various articles are briefly summarized and evaluated. The book is divided into four parts: Part One, Incidence and Causation; Part Two, The Juvenile Court and the Law; Part Three, Treatment; and Part Four, Prevention of Delinquency.

The materials are admittedly eclectic in respect to the causes, treatment, and prevention of delinquency, with considerable emphasis being placed on the legal problems involved in society's effort to cope with the problem of maladjusted individuals. The editor is highly critical of writers who "stake out a claim" for a particular discipline. Even though he recognizes that psychiatrists have made exaggerated claims for the role of psychiatry in the understanding and treatment of delinquency, it is his opinion that dynamic psychiatry offers the best hope of ascertaining and understanding the complex motivations of delinquent behavior. The causes of delinquency are admittedly multifarious, yet it is believed that "certain areas, techniques, and tests give special promise of yielding causal involvements: namely, anthropologic measurements and classifications, psychiatric interviews, the Rorschach test, the Wechsler-Bellevue test, investigation of the parent-child relationships, examination of the boys' school history, study of the neighborhood influences." As in the previous Glueck studies, which are extensively quoted, the major emphasis is on individual rather than environmental factors. While a rigid theoretical frame of reference is deliberately avoided, the editor expresses a point of view which underlies both the emphasis and the selection of materials. The section on the causes of delinquency is concluded with a special chapter on Theories of Delinquency Causation, in which an attempt is made to synthesize the individual and group versions of delinquent behavior.

The last three parts, which make up the main portion of the book (pp. 269-1147), constitute the most important contribution of the book to the understanding of delinquency. In these sections are fairly detailed descriptions of the history, philosophy, and organization of the juvenile court; the basic legal issues, the problems of detention, investigation, and sentencing; the types of disposition and treatment of cases, including various techniques of treatment; and the methods of prevention. Exten-

sive documentary and concrete judicial cases are included. The legal aspects of the problem are ably presented. The discussions of prevention are somewhat limited, with emphasis on the necessity of recognizing potential delinquents and special means of prevention. The book brings together a great variety of materials, including articles, legal documents, and excerpts from books.

M.H.N.

THE LAWYER AND THE SOCIAL WORKER, GUIDES TO COOPERATION. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1959, pp. 36.

In this report of a committee on "lawyer-family agency cooperation," the situation is recognized that many lawyers as well as many social workers "deplore a considerable antipathy which has long existed between the members of these professions." The committee undertook "to explore ways and means of improving the relations of these two professions." A major obstacle to interprofessional cooperation is given as a "lack of knowledge of each other's aims and skills, misunderstanding, and even indifference." It is projected that the solution to the problem may be found if each profession will expand its horizon and look beyond its own members "for help in solving society's problems."

E.S.B.

ALICE SALOMON. DIE BEGRUENDERIN DES SOZIALEN FRAUENBERUFS IN DEUTSCHLAND. Ihr Leben und Ihr Werk. Edited by Hans Muthesius for the Deutsche Verein fuer oeffentliche und private Fuesorge. Cologne, Germany: Carl Heymanns Verlag KG, 1959, pp. 348.

The monograph contains four parts. The first is written by Dora Peyser and contains a detailed biography, according to which Miss Salomon spent the last eleven years of her life in "exile" in America, refusing to return to her native country, even though new tasks awaited her there. The second, third, and fourth parts are written by Carl Ludwig Krug von Nidda and present excerpts from Miss Salomon's writings (about social legislation, social insurance, the ethical fundamentals and goals of social welfare, structure of the family, etc.). The book includes a bibliography of 247 titles and a biographical index of individuals to whom Miss Salomon has made reference in her writings, from Adolf Hitler to Goethe to Florence Nightingale and back to Pope Gregory the Great. A wealth of source material, data, and historical and sociological resources are all combined in one volume.

HANS A. ILLING

THE WOMAN EXECUTIVE. By Margaret Cussler. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1958, pp. xxi+165.

In this study based on a selected sample of fifty-five women executives living in the Boston and Washington areas, interesting descriptions are given of the activities and personalities of top women executives and junior executives. The married woman executive as a class is considered to be in a more advantageous position than the unmarried one. Sometimes the woman executive rises to the top by "finding a sponsor." She has to overcome the tradition that top executives must be men. She succeeds by working hard and "by taking what comes." She must contend with "differences in salary, in rank, in responsibility, in opportunity, in security—differences usually based not on merit but on sex."

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND CLASS STRUCTURE. By Gösta Carlsson. Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1958, pp. 198.

Professor Gösta Carlsson of the University of Lund has written a most insightful document on the nature of social mobility and its relationship to social stratification theory. Social mobility is defined as the change of occupational status between two or more generations. The empirical data examined in this work were selected largely from the excellent material available in the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics. An intensive analysis is presented of the changes in status of fathers and their sons for a number of selected years from 1899 to 1923. It is found that white-collar workers increased in a substantial manner during these years. Farmers and farm workers declined sharply in Sweden as they have declined in the American economy. Over the years, state employees remained about the same, which may seem a bit strange for a country that has increased its government-supported welfare practices. No doubt, some of the professional workers are employed by quasi-government services, and this fact may tend to reduce the actual number of civil servants listed as state employees. Carlsson has developed a number of mathematical models that will command respect and attention by students of social stratification. In general, Carlsson has done a superb job of presenting his own data and of weaving into his monograph materials from other sources. This is a mature and scholarly piece of sociological research and writing.

E.C.M.

THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY. A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County. By Merle Curti. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959, pp. xii+483.

In *The Making of an American Community*, historians join the growing variety of scholars engaged in "community studies." Curti and his assistants have chosen Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, during the mid-nineteenth century to test the hypothesis that the ready accessibility of free or almost free land promoted economic equality and thence political equality. He concludes that this hypothesis, with some qualifications, is supported by the case chosen.

The data to test Curti's hypothesis were gathered not only by the traditional techniques of history but also by techniques which are more often associated with sociology and social anthropology. While the study is ex post facto by a century more or less, its procedures are in many ways comparable to those used in studies of contemporary communities. While interdisciplinary studies sometimes have a tendency to become adisciplinary when a work is constructed by many and meaningful to few, Curti never leaves any doubt about the fact that he is a historian engaged in historical research. *The Making of an American Community* is strictly a history book. However, Curti's approach to the study of history tends to bridge some of the gap between history and the other social sciences and to add to the fund of general information accessible and useful to all of the social science disciplines.

THOMAS ELY LASSWELL
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SYMPOSIA ON CHILD AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. Chaired and edited by Benjamin Karpman. Washington, D. C.: Psychodynamics Monograph Series, 1959, pp. 364.

This volume is a compilation of papers presented at the American Orthopsychiatric Association by fifteen contributors, together with the discussions by sixteen others and the comments and summaries by the editor. Nearly all of the contributors and discussants have M.D. degrees, and many of them are psychiatrists with responsible positions in hospitals, clinics, institutes, and medical schools. The five round tables dealt with "The Psychopathic Delinquent Child," "Psychopathic Behavior," "A Differential Study of Psychopathic Behavior in Infants and Children," "Psychodynamics of Child Delinquency," and "Basic Emotional Factors in Delinquency." The chairman, in opening the series of symposia, states that "there is no nosological condition in the entire field of psychiatry

on which there is so little agreement, and which is subject to so much misunderstanding and equivocation, as that of psychopathy and psychopathic personality." Through the discussions the contributors and discussion leaders struggled with the definitions of these concepts, as well as with the concept "delinquency," especially as conceived of from the standpoint of psychiatry. One wonders why such terms as "psychopathy" and "psychopathic personality" are used at all. The concept "psychopathic delinquent" is a misnomer, a vague generality that is better known by what it is not than by any specific positive factor. However, the discussions and the concrete cases used in analyzing the various phases of the subject, and the illustrations by Wesley R. Wilkins, are apparently designed to clarify not only the conceptional framework but to throw light on the varied behavior phenomena involved in this type of behavior.

Most of the material deals with items of special interest to psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, but pathology in relationships within the family is quite frequently referred to and some attention is given to "delinquency founded primarily on social dislocation," as illustrated by the case of the App family. In the final symposium the participants come to grips with the matters of definition, characteristics, and types of delinquents, possible antecedents of delinquency in infancy and childhood, the atypical children, psychodynamics as related to delinquency, and how to deal with delinquency.

M.H.N.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. By Morris Janowitz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959, pp. 112.

"This bulletin is the fourth in a series of bulletins, each dealing with a single area in which the sociologist is a practitioner or his work relevant to practice. . . . The intention," we are told in the Foreword by Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "is to stimulate the development of more adequate conceptions of the basic sociological problems presented by the United States military institution, its internal functioning, and its relation to the total social system." He also indicates that despite sociological contributions in World War II, "there still seems to be no clear conception on the part of the Department of Defense, or for that matter, most sociologists, of the possibilities of military sociology as an important contribution to military effectiveness. . . . It is therefore the purpose of this volume to impress upon sociologists and professional military officials alike the need for more effective utilization of sociological theory

and research capability in the analysis of problems of vital importance to our military forces."

The only response possible to this laudable goal is emphatic endorsement. It is important for the military services that they take the fullest possible advantage of the research and consultative resources available in the social sciences; but it is equally important that the military institution which is so demanding of our manpower and material resources and which so intimately affects the conditions of life and the value orientations of all, civilian and military alike, be subjected to scientific investigation. Scientific inquiry should make it possible to judge the impact of the military institution on national ideals and objectives, and determine the degree, if any, to which military programs are dysfunctional from the standpoint of national goals.

Janowitz has done an acceptable job in reviewing the state-of-the-art in regard to the application of sociological research to a broad array of military problems. Of necessity, he reviews the military institution of World War II and Korea, and not the space-age military institution equipped with minute-man missiles, reconnaissance satellites, and multi-megaton hydrogen warheads with which we all must learn to live. At some point the social scientist should be prepared to suggest new ideas and concepts for the resolution of conflict, and not serve merely as a facilitator of the ideas developed by physical scientists and engineers.

This report should serve well in courses on the sociology of the professions, and will be utilized in courses erroneously designated as military sociology.

Two problems exist, and they are serious and worthy of research attention. They are the ones clearly identified by Cottrell: How do you encourage the military to support and utilize social science research at an adequate level, and how do you stimulate research interest in problems relevant to the military institution? It is to be hoped that Janowitz' excellent review of the "internal social organization of the military establishment; hierarchy and authority, assimilation of military roles, primary groups, and techniques of organizational control" and his good, though too brief, consideration of military applications of political sociology and cold war and psychological operations will recruit new and resourceful research efforts by a growing group of sociologists, and in particular some who will relate the military institution to the "total social system."

CHARLES E. HUTCHINSON

Washington, D.C.

ORIGINS OF CRIME: A NEW EVALUATION OF THE CAMBRIDGE-SOMERVILLE YOUTH STUDY. By William McCord and Joan McCord. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959, pp. ix+219.

This is essentially a re-examination of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, a project that was begun in the 1930's. In 1948 Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer began a careful analysis of the experiment. Their report of the outcome of the project was presented in *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency, 1951*. In 1955, ten years after the termination of the project, the McCords began their follow-up study of the Cambridge-Somerville boys. It was not possible to make a study of all cases, but through the cooperation of the Massachusetts Board of Probation, lifetime court records of the boys who committed crimes were obtained. A few of the total number of boys studied probably committed offenses outside Massachusetts, but only a small proportion of them had no records in Massachusetts.

The Cambridge-Somerville project was one of the most extensive and costly experiments in the prevention of delinquency. A total of 650 boys were ultimately selected as subjects for the experiment; 325 received intensive counseling service and 325 (the control group) received no special treatment by the project personnel. The two groups were matched in terms of physical health, intelligence, emotional adjustment, home background, neighborhood, and delinquency prognosis. The McCords confirm the conclusion by Powers and Witmer that the project largely failed to accomplish its goals. "It failed primarily because it did not affect the basic psychological and familial causes of crime." However, the McCords point out some positive findings about the causes and the course of deviant behavior. The case records made it possible to study the developmental nature of criminal behavior. The causes of criminality were not reconstructed retrospectively, after the men had become criminals; but the availability of a vast fund of case records, gathered before the onset of criminality, gave the authors data for the re-examination of possible causal factors.

It is not possible in this review to indicate in detail the findings, which are concisely summarized in the book, including nearly one hundred tables. Among the findings reported, it is significant to note the fact that the roots of crime are implanted early in life. The authors weigh the influence of particular elements of family life and social conditions on later behavior. Parental discipline, family emotional relationships, home atmosphere, parents' character, and type of neighborhood in which the boys lived are carefully weighed. Intelligence was not

strongly related to the causation of crime, except that those who committed crimes against property were, most often, of average intelligence, and it is likely that those with high intelligence may have escaped detection of some crimes. The physical condition of the boys did not affect crime, except in cases of those who suffered from a distinct neurological disorder. Social factors were variously related to crime. Even though a slum neighborhood can mold a child's personality, the influence is conditioned by other factors in his background that make him susceptible to the subculture that surrounds him. Those who lived in good neighborhoods, even though they came from neglected families, tended to channel their frustrations in noncriminal ways, and even those who did commit offenses were more likely to change their behavior after the age of eighteen than those who lived in the poorer areas. On the other hand, cohesiveness in the family, consistent discipline, and parental affection tended to insulate children from gang influences. Home atmosphere, the type of discipline, the father's personality and his role model, the mother's personality, and the son's position in the family were significantly related to the behavior of the youth studied. Gang membership increased the chances of criminality. Neighborhood conditions affected juveniles more than they did adults as a factor in criminality.

The study indicates clearly that one cannot understand the origins of crime by concentrating on one factor only. To understand crime it is necessary to study the "complex interactions of such determinants as the parents of the individual, the parents in relation to the child, and the family as it combines with neighborhood influences." If both parents reject a child, or if they are bad parental models, if the discipline is inconsistent, and slum conditions are added to rejection, boys are especially prone to become criminal.

M.H.N.

HOW TO INTERVIEW. Fourth Revised Edition. By Walter Van Dyke Bingham and Bruce V. Moore. New York: Harper and Brothers.

In this revised edition of a widely used elementary book on interviewing, the subject is treated in terms of general principles of interviewing and of interviewing for selection, for placement, for facts, and for opinions. The counseling interview receives special attention. New emphasis in this edition is included on the self concept, the psychodynamic concepts, the psychoanalytic concepts, Carl Roger's techniques, market research interviewing, and public opinion polling.

E.S.B.

SYMPOSIUM ON SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. Edited by Llewellyn Gross.
Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1959, pp. ix+642.

Nineteen essays comprise this ambitious effort to present what might be held to be nineteen points of view on the nature and design of sociological method and theory. Editor Gross states that he offers the volume as "a review and as a promise of the kinds of theoretical considerations that warrant examination in the immediate future." With this in mind, he hoped that the contributors would explore such central concepts as postulates, explanations, models, types, levels, dispositions, transactions, functional relations, processes, probability, causality, verification, confirmation, and normative processes. Most of the contributors use some of these concepts but not always with the same meaning. Certain convergences and divergences, some imposed by the editor, make their appearances, and for the convenience of the reader as well as for his grasp of the materials, his introductory essay outlines these, which is most fortunate. Some of the convergences read as follows: "values play a significant role in the process of creating a social science"; "theoretical and methodological analysis must be anchored to human problems"; "the basic character of a scientific theory is determined by the set of concepts or principles that are chosen as central to its formulation"; and "though social science seeks to use language that is clear and correct, the current goal of analytic or procedural purity is questioned." Bierstedt shows clearly that there are different kinds of definitions and that different definitions perform different functions. As a consequence, he avers that definitional terms can or cannot operate in specific ways.

The essays are arranged under nine different headings: orientation, social types, social order, social change, functional theory, models in social science, formalization of theory, values and theory construction, and sociology of knowledge. Some of them are more valuable than others for their insights into the problems confronting sociology. Mills' essay, "On Intellectual Craftsmanship," should have a salutary effect upon those who would burden sociological writings with such affectiveness that a disguised profundity of thought results. He writes: "To overcome the academic prose... you have to overcome the academic pose." And further, "writing not imaginable as human speech is bad writing." Some of the included essayists may be found guilty on this score. Other essays that are very valuable as to content are Hempel's "Logic of Functional Analysis," Hart's "Social Theory and Social Change," Timasheff's "Order, Causality, Conjuncture," and Wolff's "Sociology of Knowledge

and Sociological Theory." A few of the essays will be limited in value for students without excellent mathematical backgrounds, and one or two might even have the effect of driving some students into other areas of endeavor.

M.J.V.

THE STATUS SEEKERS. By Vance Packard. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959, pp. 376.

In this book Vance Packard has gone primarily to the sociologist for the facts to describe the processes and problems experienced by persons attempting to achieve status in contemporary America. One of the chief virtues of this work is that it will serve to broadcast the major findings of stratification research to the general public. As a generalist the author blends many facets of the stratification process to highlight the key factors in changing status, marks of status, strains of status, and some of the more significant trends in the art of seeking status.

Packard sees America as a society stratified into two large segments: the diploma elite and the supporting classes. In actual description the diploma elite is divided into the "real upper class," which may be considered synonymous with Mills' "power elite," and the "semi-upper class," consisting mainly of professional men and decision makers in business at about the manager level. The supporting classes are described as the "limited-success class," the "working class," and the "real lower class."

Some of the statements that may provoke the reader's attention: as a badge of status a residential address is more significant than the home, in matters of clothing the upper classes may be characterized by an elaborate casualness and the lower classes by an almost animallike faith in formality, and, finally, in the real upper class there seems to be a monumental casualness about paying bills which has been epitomized in Gloria Vanderbilt's autobiography when she learned that the family butcher bill had reached \$40,000.

For some readers Vance Packard's new book may become something of a manual on how to appear to be in a higher social class than is actually the case. Inasmuch as this work will probably be read by a great many Americans, the degree of status consciousness will become sharper concerning such items as a "good address," "the proper behavior associated with a particular class," "the right political party," and the "totem poles of job prestige." The author, though writing a popular book, has maintained a scholarly respect for the findings of research in the field of social stratification.

E.C.M.

SOCIOMETRY IN THE CLASSROOM. By Norman E. Gronlund. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959, pp. xviii+340.

The author writes not just from a knowledge of the literature of the "sociometric movement in education," but as one who has contributed by frequent and steady publication to the development of the "movement." Since his cognizance of the utility of the technique stems from his actual experience of its adaptability, it is, therefore, not secondhand. Scientists now acknowledge that an adequate epistemology of events requires their interpreter to be caught up in their evolution. Because Gronlund meets this requirement, he writes with verve, perspicuity, and discernment.

The book begins with a description of the method, suggests uses, defines terms, and establishes connections with educational objectives. A particularly important contribution concerns the limitations of sociometry.

Following this introduction several chapters are devoted to the construction and the administration of the test, the analysis and presentation of results, and typical patterns of response given by students from the third-grade level through college. Further chapters consider the reliability of findings, the validity of the instrument, and the application of results to the solution of educational problems.

Altogether the book is a rich store of information, written with such detail and lucidity that it can be understood and utilized by students of every area of human interaction. Since learning is, among other things, a function of sociometric status, the work is of paramount interest to the teacher.

HAROLD T. DIEHL

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THE OBJECTIVE SOCIETY. By Everett Knight. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959, pp. 136.

While specific definitions of terms are not given, it appears that the essence of an objective society may be found in its cultural heritage and in the creative activities of its ablest minds. A dilemma arises from the fact that the masses of people are not particularly interested in giving attention to these characteristics. Except for a few people, the world is entering a space age while "entertaining ideas which have come down to us from antiquity." Likewise, it might be said we are developing a nuclear-ruled world while holding to provincial ideas. Hence, the author asserts "that our culture is now bankrupt," and thus we are not equipped

culturally or otherwise to live in a world community or a space age. Further, the author believes that "western society is adrift" and "its relative material prosperity causes us to overlook its ideological emptiness." The language of the book is forceful but phrased in a way at times that is not likely to appeal to those who most need to think through its philosophical analyses.

E.S.B.

AN EXPERIMENT IN MENTAL PATIENT REHABILITATION. By Henry J. Meyer and Edgar F. Borgatta. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959, pp. 114.

This book represents one of the few scientific researches undertaken in the social welfare setting. The "Altro project," so-called because the data are from the Altro Health & Rehabilitation Services, Inc., was initially intended to evaluate the agency's program for rehabilitating posthospitalized psychiatric patients. As a consequence of the project directors' awareness that little is known of the characteristics of mental patients eligible for rehabilitation, and that little knowledge of community and agency procedures for handling patients released from mental hospitals exists, the project is conceived in a broad framework which extends beyond the limited focus of evaluative research.

The first three chapters, which constitute the first half of the book, deal with the research design, implementation of the research project, and the type of data utilized. Chapter 4 describes the sample of patients selected for investigation and presents extensive background and classification data. The final three chapters focus upon 36 background variables subjected to factor analysis, an assessment of the effectiveness of rehabilitation, and final conclusions. A total of twenty-three tables are presented, and the appendix contains the intercorrelation matrix for variables used in the factor analysis.

The researchers interpret their findings cautiously: they state on page 99, "the data suggest that participation in Altro might reduce to a modest degree the likelihood of rehospitalization." They hold that participation may function as a palliative, and, consequently, the effectiveness of the program is not more convincingly demonstrated. In conclusion, the reader is reminded that there may be other patient benefits from Altro, such as the development of "normal" adult activities, if criteria other than rehospitalization were used.

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SOCIAL CONTROL AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY.

Pioneer Contributions of Edward Alsworth Ross to the Study of Society.

Edited by Edgar F. Borgatta and Henry J. Meyer. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959, pp. xii+211.

The editors have done a meritorious piece of work in selecting the original and most significant sections in Ross' two important early books (published in 1901 and 1905) for republication. In editing the materials, illustrative materials have been omitted to a large extent, thus emphasizing Ross' contributions to sociological theory. The reproduced writings of Ross give his discussion of such themes as the social person, with the role of sympathy, of sociability, of the sense of justice, and of individual reaction receiving emphasis. The selections of Ross' treatment of social control deal with the need for social control, the direction of social control, the radiant points of social control, and with "society as a persistent system that molds and limits the forms that may arise within it."

Ross is viewed by the editors as being "a power among pioneers, sharing their zeal for applying scientific inquiry to social problems and surpassing them all, perhaps, in the energetic promotion of sociology as an instrument for doing so." He is described as "a tireless observer of social changes which he investigated directly in his worldwide travels" and wrote about extensively. His primary interest, in his words, was in the "influences that reach men and women from without, that is, social influences." He analyzed extensively what today are called "social norms, role expectancies, cultural patterns." By omitting most of the illustrative examples, an aspect of Ross' style is lost, but there is a gain in the impression of greater theoretical worth that is given.

E.S.B.

BASIC SOCIOLOGY. By E. J. Ross. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1958, pp. vii+488.

This book is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's earlier work with the same title. Offered as a text for introductory college courses in sociology, it presents an informative and highly readable treatment of the principal areas generally covered in such courses. Sociological terms are defined as they are introduced, and central concepts are described and identified with their originators. Provision of numerous cross references in the text should serve to aid the beginning student in tying together the ideas developed in the various chapters.

While this book is frankly directed toward use in Catholic colleges, its general scope and readability might well recommend it for use in

many other small liberal arts colleges offering only a single course in sociology. Instructors in colleges with more comprehensive sociology programs, however, may not care for the unusual topical arrangement of the book, its inclusion of extraneous material, and its omission of some important concepts.

JOHN F. CROWTHER

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THE IDEA OF THE UNIVERSITY. By Karl Jaspers. Edited by Karl W. Deutsch. Translated by H. A. T. Reiche and H. F. Vanderschmidt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959, pp. xxiv+135.

This short book gives both a pragmatic and an idealistic conception of the nature and proper functions of the university. The basic conception of the university is that it is dedicated to the pursuit of science and scholarship, and its three essential and inseparable functions are research, the transmission of learning, and education to culture. The university owes its existence to society and the body politic. Only to the degree that the state respects the university and protects it from interference can the university fulfill its purposes and function as the intellectual conscience of an era. When completely recognized by society and the state without reservations or restrictions, the university exists virtually as a state within the state. This university ideal would be incompatible within a state which is intolerant of any restriction on its power for fear of the consequences of a pure search for truth.

J.E.N.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL LIFE. By Kimball Young and Raymond W. Mack. New York: American Book Company, 1959, pp. 472.

In this work a major revision of the senior author's earlier work has been accomplished with success and advantage. The authors have attempted to organize the subject matter of sociology around such major factors as "social relations," "social organization," and "social institutions." A sociological frame of reference of a conceptual type emerges to guide the thinking of the student. Attractive features of the book may be appreciated in its literary style, selection of illustrations, and for the most part a good coverage of topics considered in introductory sociology. However, some critics may fail to see a coherent frame of reference throughout the work. This book merits careful consideration by instructors of introductory sociology.

E.C.M.

WOVON LEBT DIE MUSIK: DIE PRINCIPIEN DER MUSIKSOZIOLOGIE. By Alphons Silbermann. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1957, pp. 235.

The author, sociologist and musician, manifests concern about the fate of music in a world which is ostensibly committed to Renaissance values and virtues but which, simultaneously, seems bent on destroying the conditions that made these values both possible and appealing. In the author's opinion, music and man's involvement with music are related to specific sociocultural circumstances and the press of history and not, as some insist on believing, to a mystique or to a way of life unique to the creation of "mature" music. Thus it is, for example, that Handel is the alleged representative of an age of tranquillity; Beethoven, of anxiety.

It is Silbermann's view that music develops out of and reflects the underlying social structure. Two major groups dominate the field of music—producer and consumer. But neither can function effectively except as their values flow from the existing social milieu. Insisting on the sociocultural interpretation of musical creation and its consumption causes the author to question, for example, the frequent contention that the French Revolution "liberated" the creative artist from court control and patronage, thus enabling him to pursue whatever artistic ends were sought. Liberated or not, the artist and his public did not escape the dictates of traditional social controls and in some instances the democratic ethos.

Examining the contemporary scene, Dr. Silbermann argues that music and its enjoyment must be freed from the controls exercised by the professional critics, publishers, and philosophers of art. He believes this freedom necessary for the establishment of a more meaningful and productive relationship between artist and listener.

In 1954 Dr. Silbermann organized the first international congress dealing with sociological aspects and problems of music and radio. The meeting was held in Paris and sponsored by the French government. His previous works include *Of Musical Things*, Sydney: The Grahame Book Company, 1949; *La Musique, la radio et l'auditeur*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954; *Introduction a une sociologie de la musique*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955.

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FAMILY WORLDS: A PSYCHOSOCIAL APPROACH TO FAMILY LIFE. By Robert D. Hess and Gerald Handel. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. vii+306.

This book differs from most books on family life. It is a book of five cases and these families are analyzed from the viewpoint of family interactions. The stress is on the personality aspects of members of the families, family functions, mutual interaction, congruences of images, family theme, the family world, and other psychosocial aspects. The book offers a theory of the nature of family life and presents five cases to give a more minute portrayal of the psychosocial portrait of family life. The Clarks (husband and wife) had insecure pasts, coming from broken homes and moving from one home to another. Their own marriage and family life provided security and a more protective world for their children. The Lansons definitely strive for harmony and equanimity but are sometimes perplexed by the consequences. The Littletons desperately strive to balance emotional tensions and division by allowing each member of the family to build a separate world for himself (or herself). The Newbolds are a very energetic and self-sufficient family. They are the leadership type with all members actively participating in numerous activities. The Steeles are constantly wrestling with the problem of blending companionship and assertion.

The central aim of the project was to study families as groups of interacting persons. The main data were obtained by means of interviews with members of the family, accompanied by various tests. By studying small groups, the authors were able to ascertain the interplay between personality and family as each group attempted to work out its special way of coping with the problems of everyday living.

M.H.N.

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